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ILLUSTRATIONS OF CHAUCER. DRAWN CHIEFLY FROM DESCHAMPS

THE following notes are not intended, in any instance, to suggest new sources from which Chaucer may have drawn.¹ If they add fresh vividness here and there to the background of contemporary manners and customs against which some of Chaucer's lines demand projection, they will have served their turn. That they throw interesting light upon certain salient differences between Deschamps's *art* and that of Chaucer is also true. But consideration of that I wish to reserve until another time.

I.

*Our blissed lordes body they to-tere (C 474).
'By goddes precious herte, and by his nayles,
And by the blode of Crist, that is in Hayles,
Seven is my chaunce, and thyn is cink and treye' . . .
This fruyt cometh of the bicched bones two (C 651-53, 656).*

A curious series of four *balades*²—the first by a certain Mahieu; the second by Arnaud de Corbie, Chancellor of France and friend of Deschamps; the third by Deschamps himself; and the fourth anonymous³—is of uncommon interest in connection with the Pardoner's words. The first *balade* may well be quoted entire:

¹ The *Miroir de Mariage*, to be sure, from which most of the parallels are taken, was, as I have recently shown (*Modern Philology*, VIII, 165-186, 305-334), known to Chaucer and used by him. But in the case of the passages which follow I do not care to urge that Chaucer was influenced by the *Miroir*.

² *Œuvres Complètes de Eustache Deschamps (Société des anc. textes fr.)*, I, 271-77, nos. 145-47, 149.

³ See the identification of the first three in the accompanying *rondeau*, no. 148 (I, 275), and cf. I, 387-88.

Je me merueille d'un abus,
 Quant et pourquoy en commença :
 A jurer Dieu et ses vertus
 Ne les grans sermens qu'on orra,
 C'uns chetis pour neant vourra
 Jurer Dieu et sa progenie,
Par le sang de Fescamp l'abbaye,
 Par le serment du pillori,
Par le sang de Bruges aussi
 Par la mort dont Dieux vint a vie.

Mais c'est mal fait, ne jurez plus,
 Car, par celui qui nous forma,
Par le precieus corps Ihesus,⁴
 Par le sang que Dieux estaura,
 Par le saint sang que Dieux lança,
 Fut sauvée humaine lignie,
 Dont amours et sa compaignie
 Aussy vray que nous sommes cy,
 Nous mist hors du lieu obscurci,
 Par la mort dont Dieux vint a vie.

Par qui fusmes nous secourus ?
 Par la char Dieu qu'on achata,
 Par la lance dont fut ferus,
 Par le sang que Dieux degouta,
 Par la char dont Dieux s'esconca
 Ou corps de la vierge Marie,
 Par la char que Dieux ot percie;
 Par celui qui en croix pandit,
 Par le sang que Dieux expandit,
 Par la mort dont Dieux vint a vie.⁵

The first and third stanzas of the second *balade*,⁶ will suffice :

Le suaire ou Dieux fut cousus
 Les cinq plaies dont Dieux saingna,
 Le sepulcre ou fut estendus,
 La couronne et croix qu'il porta

⁴ Cf. "By goddes *precious herte*" (C 651); and especially: "the cursed Jewes ne dismembred nat y-nough the *precieuse persone of Crist* (I, 590).

⁵ No. 145.

⁶ No. 146.

Et le saint sang que Dieu roya,
Jurent hui maint, mais c'est folie;
Par la passion que Dieux beneie
Nous est paradis restabli,
Par celui que Judas vendi,
Par la mort dont Dieux vint a vie . . .

Encores ay je d'autres veus
Jurer le sang que Dieux spietta,
Et par le ventre Dieu le plus,
Par le sacre que Dieux sacra,
Par cil qui sa mort pardonna,
Par les sains qu'en aoure et prie,
*Par les cloux Dieu,*⁷ par l'escourgie,
Par les angoisses qu'il souffri,
Par le saint sang que Dieux radi,
Par la mort dont Dieux vint a vie.

Finally, the first stanza of the anonymous *balade* contains the familiar idea of the dismembering of Christ's body:

*Dampnez soit il et esperdus
Qui le corps Dieu despiecera,
Le desmembrer est deffendus
Pour Dieu qui se transfigura,
Par le Dieu qui tous nous sauva,
Par celui qui nous vivifia,
Par le Dieu ou chascun s'affie,
Par le Dieu qui fut circonci
Fusmes nous sauvé et gari
Par la mort dont Dieux vint a vie.*⁸

⁷This is, of course, not conclusive as to whether by "nayles" Chaucer meant *claves* or *ungues*. See Skeat's note in *Oxford Chaucer*, V, 284. To the references there given the following may be added: *History of the Holy Rood-tree*, ed. Napier, E. E. T. S., p. 35; *Legends of the Holy Rood*, ed. Morris, E. E. T. S., pp. XIX, 14-15, 120, 184-85; *Karls des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem*, ed. Koschwitz, I. 175.

⁸No. 149. Cf. also ll. 17, 21-23.

Par les œulx Dieu ne jurez mie . . .
De l'eglise doit estre exclus
Cilz qui en vain son nom prandra,
Sa cervelle, face et piez nus.

See also *balade* no. 807 (IV, 322): "Il faut jurer par l'âme de son père"; and compare: "Now, by my fader soule, that is deed" (A 781).

But a far more vivid, even lurid, commentary on the "fruyt [that] cometh of the bicched bones two" is found in two longer poems of Deschamps which give accounts, mercilessly realistic to the minutest detail, of games of dice. One of them⁹ describes the play following a supper given by the Duke of Berry to the Dukes of Bourgogne and Bourbon, the Sire de Coucy and other notables, at the Hôtel de Nesle in Paris. As Raynaud remarks, the account "provoque aujourd'hui pour nous plutôt l'impression de buveurs attablés dans un cabaret de bas étage que celle de grands seigneurs se livrant à un divertissement de bon ton dans un château quasi royal."¹⁰ It is too long to quote entire, and too interesting to quote in fragments.¹¹ That the Pardoner's linking of swearing with dicing was not unwarranted, however, a few of its lines will amply testify.¹²

The other poem¹³ contains an equally graphic account,¹⁴ recalling vividly certain tavern scenes of Adriaen Brouwer and of Teniers, of the game of *drinquet*. Its opening is prophetic of its course, so far as "cursed forswerings" are concerned. The players are to draw lots for the first throw, and the straws are made ready:

⁹ No. 1395, vol. VII, pp. 253-65.

¹⁰ XI, 264.

¹¹ It gives, for one thing, a striking concrete exemplification of the origin of the proverb "The game's not worth the candle." See especially ll. 194-205, etc.

¹² Car tantost celui qui perdi Jura la mort que Dieux souffri (ll. 33-34); L'un des joueurs gette ambesas, Et vit que la table trembla; Le coup pert, puis regardé l'a, En regniant Dieu et sa mere (ll. 84-87); Et tantost .VI. pions rapporta, Dont saint Nicolas fu laidis Et tous les sains de Paradis; Et regnioyt la Magdelaine, Sainte Marie et sainte Helaine (ll. 100-104); Lors veissez Dieu despecer Du sang, et sa mort parjurer (ll. 155-56); —Je le tien; vous rencontrerez.—Se Dieux et la vierge Marie, Tous les sains et la letanie Huy maugrez en puissent avoir, Je pers tout (ll. 210-14); Uns autres qui juré avoit Que jamais Dieu ne maugriroit, A un coup perdit gros moncel, Dont saint Cristofle et son fardel Fut maugraé villainement Et quanqu'il portoit ensemment. Or ne sçay s'il se parjura, Car autrement Dieu ne jura, Ne nomma par son propre non Fors le fardel du compaignon. A vous du serment me raporte: Chascun sceit que Cristofle porte (ll. 287-98); Si ne l'en plut mie, Si parle a la vierge Marie; Chetive gloute l'appella, Elle et son filz moult diffama; Mains sains villena, maintes saintes (ll. 301-305).

¹³ No. 1359, vol. VII, pp. 155 ff.: "La Farce de Mestre Trubert."

¹⁴ Pp. 166-172.

. . . faictes les festus.
 —Ilz sont faiz, tirez.—C'est li plus
 Grans de ces .II. que j'ay tiré.
 Maistre Trubert, je vous diré:
 Tendre vous fault la main aux sains:
 Tendez!—Voulentiers, beau compains.
 —Jurez le tressaint sacrement,
 Vostre foy, vo baptisement,
 Tous les sains et toutes les saintes,
 Sanz penser a paroles faintes
 Ne a equivocacions . . .
 Par la Passion Jhesu Crist
 En renonçant a Droit escript,
 A tout Decret, aux .XII. Tables,
 Que fermes serés et estables
 Au gieu du drinquet que je nomme . . .
 Vous paierez, se vous le perdez,
 Soit a la vachette ou aux dez,
 Au drinquet ou a autre gieu,
 Et ne vous partirez du gieu
 Tant que vous aiez un denier,
 Ne pour perdre ne pour gaingnier
 Jusques a .XX. frans sur le mains;¹⁵ etc.

But like the account of the game at the Hôtel de Nesle, the poem should be read in full.

Finally, we may add the opening lines of one of the *balades*.¹⁶

Uns homs jouoit aux dés en ma presence,
 Et un grant cop coucha soudainement
 A un autre qui a touché la chance:
 Lors renya Dieu et son firmament,
 Sa mere aussy, sains, saintes ensement,
 Et s'apela garson, filz de putain,
 Larron, truant: "Cilz a ja de sa main
 Gagné .X. frans; j'ay mon argent perdu;
 Maugré en ait saint Pierre et saint Germain!
 J'aray par temps tout joué et foutu."¹⁷

¹⁵ Ll. 341-51, 357-61, 365-71.

¹⁶ No. 783, vol. IV, pp. 286-87.

¹⁷ Compare also no. 943 (V, 159), ll. 11-20. And see, on the whole subject, *Du Jeu de Dez*, in Jubinal, *Novv. Rec.*, II, 229-34.

II.

Of double worsted was his semi-cope,
That rounded as a belle out of the presse (A. 262-63).

It is at least worth querying whether Chaucer's line may not perhaps have some relation to the French phrase *a fons de cuve*. This is twice used, once of a mantel, once of a skirt, in Deschamps's *Miroir de Mariage*. Both passages occur in the highly edifying chapter headed: "Des charges qui sont en mariage pour le mesnage soustenir avec les pompes et grans bobans des femmes."¹⁸ In the first the wife speaks:

Et si dira: "Encor je vueil
 Une fustaine, monseigneur,
 Et me fault un mantel greigneur
 Que je n'ay, *a droit fons de cuve*."¹⁹

Raynaud's gloss of the phrase—"Tout à fait *en forme de cuve renversée (de cloche)*"—at once recalls the Friar's semi-cope.

The second passage describes at some length a gown. It is immediately preceded by an account of the lady's shoes,²⁰ which, like those of the Wife of Bath, were not to blush unseen:

¹⁸ Chap. XV, vol. IX, p. 42.

¹⁹ Ll. 1252-55. The following lines, it may be noted in passing, indicate that human nature has not greatly changed since Deschamps's time. The wife goes on:

Et si vous di bien que ma huve
 Est vieille et de pouvre fasson:
 Je sçay tel femme de masson,
 Qui n'est pas a moy comparable,
 Qui meilleur l'a et plus coustable
 .iiii. fois que la mienne n'est (ll. 1256-61).

²⁰ Chaussement fault et solers,
 Pour les venues, pour les alers,
 De blanc, de noir et de vermeil,
 L'un de blanc, l'autre despereil,
 Qui soient fait comment qu'il prangne,
 Estroiz, escorchiez, *a poulaine*
Ronde, deliée et ague,
 Tant qu'om la voye par la rue;
 Aucune foiz soient a las,
 A bouclettes, puis hauls, puis bas,
 Selon l'esté ou les yvers
 Et la saison des temps divers (ll. 1407-18).

Fault chaues et cotte hardie
Courtelette, afin que l'en die:
" Vez la biau piet et faiticet! "²¹

And the contours of the gown itself are circumstantially depicted:

Et afin qu'elle semble droicte,
Lui fault faire sa robe estroicte
Par les flans et soit bien estraincte,
Afin qu'elle semble plus joincte:²²
La ne fault panne fors que toile,
Mais au dessoubz faut faire voile,
Depuis les reins jusques au piet,
Du cul de robe qui leur chiet
Contreval, comme uns fons de cuve
Bien fourré ou elle s'encuve;
Et ainsi ara la meschine
Gresle corps, gros cul et poitrine,
Par l'ordonnance qu'elle y met,
De l'ouvrier qui s'en entremet.²³

Whether or not Chaucer had the French phrase in mind,²⁴ the parallel is at least an interesting one.²⁵

With "a poulaine Ronde" compare "the newe guise of Beawme" to which Gower refers (*Confessio Amantis*, VIII, 2470), and which Stow describes at length (*Annales*, London, 1631, p. 295). See Deschamps's further references to the fashion, in V, 274; VIII, 22; IX, 118.

²¹ Deschamps has of course in mind the instructions of La Vieille:

Lors gart que si le pié délivre,
Que chascun qui passe la voie,
La bele forme du pié voie.

(ed. Michel, II, 93, ll. 14493-95).

And the very frank lines which immediately follow in the *Miroir* (1422-34) are likewise reminiscent of the unblushing counsels of Jean de Meun (ll. 14496 ff.). Compare also Deschamps, VIII, 169.

²² "There nis no newe gyse, that it nas old!"

²³ Ll. 1435-48.

²⁴ He may have known the very instances of its use that I have quoted. But the phrase was not an uncommon one. See the examples in Godefroy and Sainte Palaye.

²⁵ See Flügel's notes on Chaucer's line in *Anglia*, XXIV, 470-71.

III.

She coude muche of wandring by the weye (A. 467).

The Wife of Bath's *penchant* for pilgrimages receives abundant illustration in the *Miroir de Mariage*. In the eleventh chapter a pair of husbands are comparing notes upon their wives:

Or en revient puis .II., puis troys,
Dont l'un dit: "Femme ay debonnaire!
Elle fait trestout le contraire
De ce que je vueil et commande."
L'autre dit: "*Quant des poys demande,*
On me fait feves ou poureaux;
Se harenz vueil, j'ay maquereaux;
Se je di: Gardez le mesnaige,
On me faint un pelerinaige:
Lors fault aler a Saint Denis!"²⁶

Another point of view is given by the mother-in-law in chapter XXXVI:

Fault que ta femme se confie
En quelque saint, en quelque sainte,
Afin qu'elle puist estre ensainte;
En divers lieux la fault vouer
Pour les sains requerre et rouver
Et y aler souvente foys:
Pour ce refuser ne lui doys,
Pour croistre renom de l'ymaige,
Que ne voist en pelerinaige
Toutes les foiz qu'il lui plaira.²⁷

And finally the Wife of Bath's own admirably frank statement of her motives in making her "visitacious . . . to thise pilgrimages" — "I hadde the bettre leyser for to pleye, *And for to see, and eek for to be seye* Of lusty folk"²⁸—has its exact parallel in Deschamps's heading of Chapter XLIII: "Comment femmes pro-

²⁶ Ll. 800-809.

²⁷ Ll. 3500-3509. Compare the wife's own words later, ll. 3726-31.

²⁸ D. 551-53. See the whole passage.

curent aler aux pardons, non pas pour devocion qu'elles aient, *mais pour veoir et estre veues.*"²⁹

IV.

Go hoodles to the drye see (Book of the Duchesse, l. 1028).

In an earlier discussion of the passage in which this line occurs,³⁰ I suggested that it seemed scarcely probable "that 'hoodles' has any other suggestion than that of a certain romantic disregard for comfort or even defiance of hardship in carrying out the task enjoined."³¹ This interpretation is confirmed in a striking poem of Robert de Rains,³² the second stanza of which thus describes the wandering lover:

Si con Escos, / qui porte sa çavate,³³
De palestiaus / sa chape ramendee,
Deschaus, nus piés, / affublez d'une nate,
La cercherai / par estrange contree.
Soz couverture, / on ait ne clou ne late,
Ne girrai maiz, / tant que j'avrai trovee
Celi, por cui / j'ai si la color mate.

One is pretty safe in the inference that these vivid lines fairly represent the spirit in which the English lovers were to go "hoodles" on their ladies' quest.

One further illustration of the predilection mediaeval ladies had for sending their lovers to the ends of the earth to win their spurs

²⁹ Vol. IX, p. 136. Compare also chaps. XXXVII and XLII. The ultimate source of both Chaucer and Deschamps is, of course, Jean de Meun. See *Roman de la Rose*. ed. Michel, II, 92, ll. 14458 ff., and cf. *Modern Philology*, VIII, 321, n. 2.

³⁰ "The Dry Sea and the Carrenare," *Modern Philology*, III, 1-46.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 43, n. 2.

³² W. Mann, *Die Lieder des Dichters Robert de Rains, genannt La Chievre* (Halle a S., 1898), no. 5, pp. 23-24; also in *Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.*, XXIII, 102; Tarbé, *Les Chansonniers de Champagne aux XII^e et XIII^e Siècles*, p. 66; *Hist. littér. de la France*, XXIII, 752. See also Raynaud, *Bibliographie Des Chansonniers*, no. 383.

³³ Ms. Paris, Bibl. nat., F. fr. 20050 reads:

Com uns escosz a son col sa cauette.

Cavate (or *chavate*, or *cavette*) is the *savate* of Godefroy, X, 634 (= "soulier usé, éculé").

may be added here.³⁴ In one of the poems of Jean de Condé,³⁵ the heroine addresses her lover as follows:

"Varlés," fait elle, "je croi bien
K'en vous a grant sens et grant bien;
Mais de valoir tant n'i a mie
Com pour faire telle arramie
Com vous vollés yci entreprendre.
Nonpourquant si vous vœl aprendre
Et conter sans faire demour:
Se vous convoitiés tant m'amour
Et vous y volés parvenir,
Si preu vous couvient devenir,
K'en nul liu ne serés faillans
Là ù aler doie hons vaillans;
Mais que vous en oyés parler,
Tantost vous y couvient aler.
Jà n'iert en si lointainne tierre,
En Escoche u en Engleterre,
U en Franche u en Alemaingne,
Que pour nulle riens ne remaingne,
U soit à tournoi u en guerre,
Que n'i alés pour los à querre."³⁶

Scotland, England, France and Germany are not, to be sure, a very formidable itinerary, but rather, one is inclined to think, a "knakke smal." The lady quite coolly suggests, however, a few lines farther on, that seven years would be a very fit length of time for the aspiring youth to spend at it!

Faire le vous couvient .VII. ans;
Quant accomplis sera cieus tans,
M'amour arés sans contredit;
Se ce faites, sans nul respit
Et sans fauser ierc vostre amie,
Ne autrement nel serai mie."³⁷

³⁴ Compare the article in *Modern Philology* already referred to, p. 8, for the parallel from Machaut.

³⁵ "Li Dis dou Levrier" (*Dits et Contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son fils Jean de Condé*, ed. Scheler, II, 303 ff.).

³⁶ Ll. 441-460 (II, 317). Compare *Book of the Duchesse*, ll. 1015-33—especially ll. 1030-32.

³⁷ Ll. 465-470.

One gets these same wanderings of the knights under a characteristically unromantic but extremely human angle in Deschamps's *Miroir de Mariage*. The portrait of the knight which there appears is part of a passage³⁸ which constitutes one of the *pièces de résistance* of his argument against marriage. One will do well to recall the instructive folk-tale of *Die Kluge Else*, and her fears and scruples for her possible offspring. Precisely that—with all respect—is the argument of Deschamps in that part of his discussion with which we are here concerned. If one marries, he justly remarks, one may have sons. If the sons grow up, they must follow some profession or other. And he thereupon proceeds to pass in review the various professions—the church and civil and canon law among them³⁹—which menace these hypothetical sons and heirs. Especially disturbing is the calling of the knight, and one reason why Deschamps concludes that it is better to remain in single blessedness is the fact, among others, that if one's son should turn out to be a knight, there is no end to his wanderings, which are rehearsed in due course. And the upshot of the whole matter is that a son who is a knight is an expensive luxury, and that his hopes “to stonden in his lady grace” draw heavily on the paternal pocket book!

Or fault avoir pour voyagier
Grant argent, pour boire et mangier
Et pour acquerir renommée.⁴⁰

It is an edifying, if somewhat disillusioning, glimpse behind the scenes of mediaeval chivalry.

V.

That un-to logik hadde longe y-go. (A 286.)

The paragraph of the *Miroir de Mariage* which concerns itself with sons who turn out to be clerks⁴¹ holds up mediaeval education

³⁸ IX, 74-81 (ll. 2179-2393). Part of this description (ll. 2179-95) has already been cited by Flügel, *Anglia*, XXIV, 443. Compare (in addition) *Miroir*, ll. 2202-03: Soy maintenir et forjouster, *Tant qu'il ait le pris de la feste*; and A 67: And evermore he hadde a sovereyn prys.

³⁹ See below.

⁴⁰ Ll. 2369-71.

⁴¹ See the preceding note.

in a curiously modern light,⁴² besides incidentally throwing into bold relief the virtues of the Clerk of Oxenford. Deschamps is elaborating his thesis that the rearing of sons is a game scarcely worth the candle. And his grounds are by no means such patent ones as those in which we might expect the Franklin, for example, to concur.⁴³ Even sons in orders are a very doubtful blessing. For:

.VI. ans les fault estre a gramaire
Et a logique .VI. ans traire,⁴⁴
 Puis les fault aler aux decrez
 Ains que ilz soient magistrez,
 Estudier .VIII. ou .X. ans,
 Et s'ilz veulent estre bien grans
 Et docteur en theologie,
 Moult leur fault poursuivre clergie
 Jusqu'a my lieu de leur eage.⁴⁵

The lines which follow, moreover, are oddly like a sketch of a worldly minded brother of the Clerk of Oxenford:

S'ilz n'ont prebende ou advantage,
 Trop sont leurs despens sumptueux:
 Ilz leur fault robes d'escureux,
 Housses, *mentecaulx fourrez de gris*⁴⁶
 Et de menu vair, je te dis,
 Et de *fin cendal* pour esté,⁴⁷
Livres qui n'ont pas pou cousté,
 Vivres, maison, gens et estude.⁴⁸

⁴² Dissatisfaction with the expenditure of time demanded for the acquisition of a professional training, it will be obvious, is no new thing.

⁴³ F 682-94.

⁴⁴ Deschamps gives elsewhere (*L'Art de Dictier*, VII, 266-7) an admirable definition of the logic of the *trivium*: Logique est après une science d'arguer choses faintes et subtiles, coulourées de faulx argumens, pour discerner et mieulx congnoistre la verité des choses entre le faulx et le voir, et qui rent l'omme plus subtil en parole et plus habille entre les autres.

⁴⁵ Ll. 2081-89.

⁴⁶ Compare Chaucer's Monk:

I seigh his sleeves purfild at the hond
 With grys, and that the fyneste of a lond
 (A 193-94).

⁴⁷ Compare the Doctor's robe, "Lyned with taffata and with sendal
 (A 440).

⁴⁸ Ll. 2090-97.

In both descriptions the same fact appears: Chaucer's clerk has "geten him yet no benefyce"; Deschamps's hypothetical clerks "n'ont prebende ou advantage."⁴⁹ But this fact carries with it diametrically opposite results. For the clerk of Oxenford the lack of a benefice means a "thredbar courtepy"; for his counterpart in Deschamps it merely involves "despens sumptueux" for "robes riche."⁵⁰ And a more instructive contrast than that between the "twenty bokes, clad in blak or reed," and the cynical "Livres qui n'ont pas pou cousté," it would be hard to find.

VI.

The clerk of Orliens.

The friend of Aurelius, in the Frankeleyn's Tale,⁵¹ was not the only young "bacheler of lawe" at Orleans who spent his time at something else than the craft that he was "ther to lerne." Deschamps, whose own student days were spent at Orleans,⁵² gives a group of striking pendants to Chaucer's picture. The first is a *balade*⁵³ whose refrain—*Se j'eusse mon vit d'Orliens!*—recalls the Wife of Bath's "That I have had my world as in my tyme." Its reminiscences, however, find more interesting expression in another *balade*,⁵⁴ which purports to be a letter, engagingly naïve and true

⁴⁹ Compare the very interesting *balade*, no. 1038 (V, 316), in which Deschamps prays the Pope for a prebend for his son, Gillet Deschamps, on the ground that *he* has as yet no benefice:

.VI. ans a en philosophie
A Paris en la rue esté,
Cler engin a, bien versifie;
A l'Eglise l'a présenté
Le dit Eustace; *n'est renté*
Ne benefice n'acquis
Le dit Gillet, qui est ses filz.

⁵⁰ See ll. 3624-25; *vous estes fourres Et vestus comme un drois prelat!* And compare A 259-61:

For there he was nat lyk a cloisterer,
With a thredbar cope, as is a povre scoler,
But he was lyk a maister or a pope.

⁵¹ F 1118-28.

⁵² See *Oeuvres*, XI, 13.

⁵³ No. 1105 (VI, 10).

⁵⁴ No. 933 (VIII, 96-97).

to life,⁵⁵ from a student (in this case probably Deschamps's own son⁵⁶), at Orleans:

Lettres des escoliers d'Orliens :
 Treschiers peres, je n'ay denier,
 Ne sanz vous ne puis avoir riens ;
 Et si fait a l'estude chier,
 Ne je ne puis estudier
 En mon Code n'en ma Digeste :
 Caduque sont. Je doy de reste
 De ma prevosté dix escus,
 Et ne treuve homme qui me preste :
 Je vous mande argent et salus ! . . .

Vins sont chiers, hostelz, autres biens ;
 Je doy partout ; s'ay grant mestier
 D'estre mis hors de telz liens :
 Chiers peres, veuillez moy aidier.
 Je doubte l'excommunier,
 Cité suy ; cy n'a n'os n'areste :
 S'argent n'ay devant ceste feste
 De Pasques, du moustier exclus
 Seray. Ottroiez ma requeste.
 Je vous mande argent et salus.

L'envoy

Treschiers peres, pour m'alegier
 En la taverne, au boulengier,
 Aux docteurs, aux bediaux, conclus,
 Et pour mes colectes paier
 A la burresse et au barbier,
 Je vous mande argent et salus.

The other side of the shield, however, is shown in a third *balade*,⁵⁷ the envoy of which begins:

Princes, trop coustent escolier :
 Tousjours dient qu'ilz n'ont denier.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Compare, for instance, the letters of young William Paston, Jr., from Eton (*Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, Nos. 824-827).

⁵⁶ Compare no. 1038 (V, 316), and XI, 13.

⁵⁷ No. 980 (VIII, 187-88): "Des escoliers d'Orliens."

⁵⁸ Cf. ll. 17-20:

And finally, in the *Miroir de Mariage*, the typical life of a "bachelor of lawe" at Orleans lends its weight to the argument against incurring by marriage the risk of having sons at all:

Aultres qui sont praticiens,
Mettent leurs filz a Orlens,
Pour aler aprendre les drois;
Mais ce n'est pas deux ans ne trois:
Sept ans ou huit illec demeurent,
Et l'avoir leurs peres deveurent;
Ribaulx deviennent et putiers,
Les aulcuns larrons et murdriers;
Po estudient, bien se batent,
Pour leurs fillettes se combatent.
Telz y est droiz et sains alez,
Qui en revient tous affolez;
Telz y a fait six ans demeure,
Qui est tuez en petit d'eure.⁶⁰

. . . et tousjours sont querrens
En leurs lettres par piteus mos:
A pere, a mere et a parens
Mandent *salutem et nummos*.

⁶⁰ Ll. 2105-18. The lines which follow give a striking summary of the way in which the Man of Lawe must have reached the point of having "in termes . . . caas and domes alle, That from the tyme of king William were falle":

Quant il en son pais sera,
III. ou .IV. ans escouterà
En parlement ou es assises
Pour la pratique, pour les guises
Sçavoir, aussi l'experience
Qui est maitresse de science,
Avant qu'il ose un mot sonner;
Par les usaiges gouverner
Le couvient selon les pais,
Non pas selon les drois escrips (ll. 2123-32).

The account ends, like those of the Clerk and the Knight, with the reiteration of the thesis that the education of a son is after all an unprofitable investment:

Et je suppose qu'il soit saige,
Vieulx sera: il se marira,
Ne jamais bien ne te fera
Ne supportera ta vieillesse (ll. 2138-41).

VII.

*That I am trewe Tristam the secounde
To Rosemounde, l. 20.*

Compare Froissart's line (*Œuvres*, ed Scheler, II, 367):

Nom ai Amans, et en surnom Tristrans.

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CLASSICAL ECLOGUE AND MEDIÆVAL DEBATE

(Continued from page 31)

THE next poem on my list of Carolingian debates, the *Ecloga Theoduli*,⁴² belongs rather with the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis* in its relation to the pastoral than with the elegy of Ermoldus Nigellus. It stands, indeed, still nearer to the eclogue and further from the true debate. Though of uncertain date, the poem is now generally agreed to have been written about the middle of the ninth century, in which case it is later than either the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis* or the dispute between the rivers. There is, however, not the slightest ground for supposing that it was suggested or influenced by these works. It is rather an independent attempt to employ the eclogue amœbean for the purpose of conveying ideas adapted to contention dialogue but wholly unrelated to the pastoral as such. The material, this time, is purely didactic, drawn from the Prudentian conflict of virtues and vices and from the old debate between Christianity and Paganism. There can be no question of popular origins here.

The poem begins innocently enough with the conventional narrative introduction; but the reader soon perceives that the shepherd lad and maiden who meet with their flocks at the river are no mortal rustics. The one is Pseustis, a son of ancient Athens, clad in a spotted panther's skin, blowing a pipe whose sound comes forth through a thousand holes; the other, Alithia, a beautiful virgin, descended from King David. The two challenge each other in form, and old mother Fronesis, who happens by, is constituted judge. She bids them begin at once and in quatrains, Pseustis first, because he is a man. The youth opens the contest by describing the golden age of Saturn, who came without father but was himself the father of the Gods. Alithia opposes to this picture the garden of Eden, and the fall of Adam and Eve, whose sin is felt by all their offspring. Pseustis continues his heathen genesis with

⁴² *Theoduli eclogam recensuit et prologomenis instruxit Prof. Dr. Joannes Osternacher, Ripariae prope Lentiam, 1902.*

Jupiter and the coming of the silver age; Alithia matches him with the rejection of Adam from the pious seat. And so the dispute goes on through many lines. The parallels, if childish, are frequently exceedingly ingenious: as when the wounding of Venus, a Goddess, by Diomed, a mortal, is capped with Jacob's wrestle with an angel; the story of Hippolytus with that of Joseph; Jove's double night with Joshua's long day. Alithia in her replies not only matches the instances of Pseustis, but, wherever possible, suggests the moral superiority of her own. Thus Pseustis calls upon his thousand deities to defend him, Alithia upon the one true God; Pseustis propounds a foolish riddle about Proserpina, and Alithia answers with a profound one concerning the structure of the world. At length Pseustis begins to waver; finally he cries out to Fronesis to bid the maiden cease, for he will yield. The poem closes in the Virgilian manner with a description of the fall of day.

In spite of its length this poem is, as I have suggested, much nearer to the classical model than the *Conflictus*. The two speakers, unlike Ver and Hiems, purport to be shepherds, and the pastoral fiction is kept up throughout. They do not assail each other directly, but carry on their contest by the more strictly amœbean process of matching, even to the posing of each other with riddles, as in the Virgilian eclogue. None the less does the piece belong essentially to the debate class, in that it expresses an opposition of two abstract principles in a formal word battle between personifications which embody them. Like the *Conflictus* it furnishes strong evidence of the importance of the eclogue in the development of the debate form.

The general sources of the materials of the *Ecloga* have already been indicated. It is unnecessary to go into the subject here, further than to suggest the closeness of relationship between the conception of the *Ecloga* and that of Prudentius's *Psychomachia*,⁴³ in which the battle of virtues and vices is identified with the victory of Christianity over Paganism, of truth over error. The matching of biblical with pagan history finds a close analogy in such works as the pseudo-Augustinian *Altercation of Church and*

⁴³ See Osternacher, *op. cit.*; and Joseph Frey, *Über das mittelalterliche Gedicht Theoduli ecloga*, etc., 1904.

Synagogue,⁴⁴ where the Jewish church defends itself by citing passages or events from the Old Testament, which the Christian church promptly confutes with parallels from the New. A systematic comparison of Old and New Testament events, in verse but without the element of contest, is to be found in the first hymn of Sedulius,⁴⁵ imitated in the ninth century by Hrabanus Maurus.⁴⁶

The importance of these parallels for the present subject is to establish beyond a doubt the fact that the *Ecloga Theoduli*, so far as subject matter is concerned, belongs to a well defined line of controversial writings; and to put in a still clearer light the influence of the pastoral amœbean in determining its form. For in none of these sources, except, perhaps, the *Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae*, which is in prose, is the debate idea more than suggested. In the other controversial dialogues the fictitious element which is so characteristic of the mediæval debate, is lacking; while the *Psychomachia* is a contest of arms and not of wit. Clearly the style of the contest, the formal challenge, the choosing of a judge, the alternation of arguments in hexameter quatrains, and the spirit of jest and fiction which pervades the whole,—all the characteristics, in fine, which this poem and the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis* have in common with the typical mediæval debate,—are due to the pastoral mould in which this alien material has been cast.

With the last poem of the group of ninth century debates, the *Rosae Liliique Certamen*⁴⁷ of Sedulius Scottus, the issue between popular and learned origins becomes crucial. The debate is, in some respects, the most important of the series, for the allegorical contest is not only freed from the pastoral setting, but, unlike the debate of the rivers in Ermoldus's elegy, it constitutes an independent poem. The piece seems to have been composed during its author's sojourn at Liège, between the years 840 and 868; it is

⁴⁴ *De Altercatione Ecclesiae et Synagogae*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. XLII, pp. 1136-1140.

⁴⁵ *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. X, pp. 155 ff.

⁴⁶ *Ad Praeclarum; Poetae Latini*, vol. II, pp. 178 ff.

⁴⁷ *Poetae Latini*, vol. III, pp. 230-231; also in Dümmler's *Sedulii Carmina quadringenta*, etc., Halle, 1896, p. 35. For the date and authorship of the poem see Traube, *Poetae Latini*, vol. III, pp. 151-154; and S. Hellman, *Sedulius Scottus*, in *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, München, 1906, cap. II.

therefore presumably later than the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis*, and about contemporary with the *Ecloga Theoduli*.

The *Certamen* consists of fifty hexameters, arranged for the most part in a kind of stanza; the introduction, the alternating speeches of the rose and the lily, and the description of the coming of Ver as peacemaker being of four lines each. The poet begins with a description of spring and the bare statement that the lilies and roses were contending. The rose first vaunts her rich crimson as contrasted with the lily's sickly white. The lily replies with a familiar pastoral motive, the boast that she is the beloved of the Gods; and the rose answers by putting forth the same claim for herself, in the manner and language of the pastoral amœbean:

"Sum soror Auroræ, divis cognata supernis;
Et me Phoebus amat, rutuli sum nuncia Phœbi.
Lucifer ante meum hilarescit currere vultum;
Ast mihi virginei decoris rubet alma venustas."

The lily goes on to twit the rose about her thorny crown; the rose replies that her thorns are not a reproach but a means of protection. The lily proclaims the glories of her golden hair, and the whiteness of her breasts, and declares herself the Blessed Lady among flowers. At this point Spring appears in the form of a youth and pauses on the flowery sward to rebuke the sisters for their quarreling. Each has her peculiar excellence and glory. The rose is the queen of flowers and the lily should submit to her rule. She is likewise the type of modesty and of the blood of the martyrs but the lily in her radiant garb is fair in the sight of Phoebus, and she is the type of virgin purity. Then the poet tells how Spring gave his children the kiss of peace, and how the beautiful maidens were reconciled.

The relationship of the poem thus outlined to the Virgilian eclogue cannot, I believe, be denied. Notwithstanding the absence of pastoral imagery, the dialogue appears upon examination to be identical in structure with the amœbean. Rose and lily, like Ver and Hiemis, Pseustis and Alithia, and the true shepherds of the Virgilian contests, exchange their arguments in short alternate speeches of equal length;⁴⁸ at the end a sort of judge intervenes and

⁴⁸ In Virgil, *Ec.* III the contesting shepherds have two lines each; in *Ec.* VII, four; in Calpurnius, *Ec.* II, four; in *Ec.* IV and VI, five.

reconciles the rivals by praising both.⁴⁰ The reasons advanced by rose and lily and their method of contending bear a close resemblance to those of the amœbean, a closer resemblance than can be claimed for the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis*. The flowers do not syllogize; they match personal qualities: the rose vaunts her red, the lily her white. In one instance they adopt an actual pastoral motive, the favor of the Gods.⁵⁰ Finally, as in the case of the *Conflictus*, the technical term "certamen" is used of the debate. If, then, the amœbean character of Sedulius's poem may be regarded as established, the further question remains of whether its author derived a suggestion for this piece from any of the debate poems hitherto discussed. The direct influence of the *Bucolics* cannot be disputed. Sedulius knew Virgil best of all the ancient writers, and his familiarity with the eclogues is shown by many borrowings through his poetry; in the *Certamen* itself there are several verbal reminiscences.⁵¹ It was inevitable that Sedulius in writing the debate should have had the Virgilian amœbean prominently in his mind and been strongly influenced by it. On the other hand there are some striking resemblances between this poem and the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis*, which are hardly to be accounted for by their common pastoral relations. The allusion to spring with which both poems open is not to be found in the narrative introductions of any of the eclogues of Virgil or Calpurnius. The orthodox season for shepherd pipings is not spring but summer. More significant is the appearance of Ver (masculine, both here and in the *Conflictus*)⁵² as one of the characters in the little drama. There is some suggestion of verbal resemblance between the de-

⁴⁰ Cf. especially Calpurnius, *Ec.* II, vv. 99 f.

"Este pares, et ob hoc concordēs vivete, nam vos
Et decor et cantus et amor sociavit et aetas."

⁵⁰ Cf. Virgil, *Ec.* III, vv. 60 ff.

⁵¹ See the references given in the *Monumenta, Poetae Latini*, vol. III, pp. 230 ff.

⁵² The regular gender of the word in mediæval as in classical Latin was neuter; as a personification Ver was feminine in ancient poetry. Uhland remarks as an evidence of the Germanic origin of the *Conflictus* that both winter and spring have their Teutonic genders, but this is not entirely correct. Hiems is at first feminine, as generally in Latin; the change to the masculine comes at verse 39. (Cf. vv. 7, 22, 39, 45.)

scriptions of the youth Spring, in the two poems.⁵³ And finally the claim of the rose to be the sister of Aurora and the ruddy messenger of Phoebus looks much like a reminiscence of the *Conflictus*, where the cuckoo is hailed as the companion of Phoebus and his favorite in the dawn.⁵⁴ The cuckoo is indeed the messenger of Phoebus, but in what sense can the rose be so called? Both poems at this point adopt the pastoral motive, "Et me Phoebus amat," but the phrasing in the *Certamen* is moulded or remoulded directly after Virgil.

But whether the *Certamen* owes its amœbean form directly to the Virgilian eclogue or indirectly through the *Conflictus*, the significance of the poem, as an illustration of the persistence of the eclogue framework after the pastoral imagery has been dropped, remains. The abandonment of the conventional setting meant the establishment of a new literary form. The author of the *Certamen* has accepted what was vital in the pastoral contest, leaving behind what was merely an encumbrance. For the pastoral as such had little title to existence in the Middle Ages; it virtually died out with the humanistic impulse of the Carolingian epoch. But the debate, as a combination of allegory and dialectic, was perfectly in accord with mediæval tendencies and tastes; and the form became enormously popular.

The mention of the springtime opening of the *Certamen* and of the appearance of Ver in masculine garb, brings us back once more to the question of popular origins. Professor Allen, in his recent article on the mediæval mime,⁵⁵ unhesitatingly classes the *Certamen* and the *Conflictus* together. "Both of these, I imagine, are reglossings of vernacular *streitgedichte*, the former [i. e., the *Rosae Liliique Certamen*] allegorical in its symbolism, the latter [i. e., the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis*] pastoral (chorus of shepherds). They vacillate between a more correct diction modeled on learned sources like Virgil, the *disticha Catonis* etc., and a rougher

⁵³ "Tunc Ver florigera iuvenis pausabat in herba. . . .

Floripotens caput sertis renitebat honoris." *Certamen*, 29.

"Ver quoque florigero succinctus stemmate." *Conflictus*, 6.

⁵⁴ "Phoebo comes almus in ævum" . . .

"Phoebus amat cuculum, crescenti luce serena."

Cf. the lines quoted above, p. 132.

⁵⁵ *Modern Philology*, vol. VIII, no. 1.

style which is apparently reminiscent of their popular source." If this is true,—if there existed in the ninth century not only a popular flyting between Winter and Summer, but also one between the lily and the rose, and if Sedulius, the Irish monk, knew this *streitgedicht* and turned it with learned modifications into Latin, the probability of a general derivation of the Latin debates from vernacular originals would be greatly strengthened, and the rôle of the pastoral in the development of the form would become of comparatively small importance. But whatever may be the truth in the case of the *Conflictus*, there is very little reason for such a conclusion regarding the *Certamen*. There is, so far as I know, no trace of a folk drama, wide spread and deeply rooted in popular tradition, in which representative flowers engage in a contest. Nor does this debate, like the contest of the seasons, anywhere occur in popular form. The German debate between the beech-tree and the box, and the English holly and ivy poems, appear to be derivatives from the winter and summer disputes.⁵⁶ Both are far removed from the Latin poem in spirit and subject matter, and the latter has never, I think, been associated with them.

In the *Certamen* itself I can see nothing which points toward a direct connection with popular materials,—nothing which is not easily to be explained by reference to earlier Latin literature, including the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis*. The idea of a contention between lily and rose might easily have occurred to anyone. The flowers are the most obvious of rivals. They have been constantly associated and contrasted in literature, and, what is most important in connection with the debate, they have universally been assigned symbolic values. In Sedulius Scottus's own poems, for example, the lily as the emblem of peace is opposed to the rose as that of war.⁵⁷ The *Certamen* employs the more common conception of the lily as the symbol of virginity or faith, the rose of martyrdom. It is suggested in the argument (verse 16) and made explicit by Ver in his final expression of the merits of the two. The idea recurs in Christian literature again and again, and must be re-

⁵⁶ *Buchsbaum und Felbinger*, Uhland, *Volkslieder*, Nr. 9; *Holly and Ivy*, Ritson, *Ancient Songs*, 3d ed., pp. 113 ff. Cf. also Thomas Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Percy Society, vol. XXIII, p. 44, 84 ff. The relation of these pieces to the drama of the seasons is discussed by Uhland, *Schriften*, vol. III, pp. 26 ff.

⁵⁷ *Poetae Latini*, vol. III, p. 196, v. 33.

garded as an almost universal piece of Christian symbolism. Attention has been called by Professor Rand to a rose and lily passage in a well known and beautiful poem by Walafrid Strabo, the *De Cultura Hortorum*,⁵⁸ which contains the symbolic comparison and may have given Sedulius the suggestion for his debate. At the conclusion of the poem, after discussing the other plants and flowers in their turn, the author gives to the rose the highest praise of all, and says that she deserves her title of flower of flowers. He mentions her color, her medicinal properties; and then goes on to compare her with the lily, in terms which strongly suggest the idea of a contest in beauty.

"Huic formosa suos opponunt lilia flores. . . .
Haec duo namque probabilius genera inclyta florum
Ecclesiae summas signant per saecula palmas.
Sanguine martyrii carpit quae dona rosarum,
Liliaque in fidei gestat candore nitentis."⁵⁹

The remaining lines of the chapter are an address to the Virgin, in which the rose and lily symbolism is continued. She is bidden to pluck both, the rose in war and the lily in peace; for the "flower of the root of Jesse," who consecrated lilies by his words and roses by his death, left both peace and war for his followers on earth. In this passage or in some other like it Sedulius may well have found the germ of his debate.⁶⁰ With such material at hand it is superfluous to assume the existence of a folk debate between rose and lily or any other flowers, in order to account for the subject

⁵⁸ *Poetae Latini*, vol. II, p. 335 ff.

⁵⁹ The omitted lines compare the lily with virginity. With the last lines quoted cf. the conclusion of the *Certamen*:

"Tu rosa, martyribus rutilam das stemmate Palmam,
Lilia, virgineas turbas decorate stolatas."

⁶⁰ It is not certain which of the two poems is the earlier. Strabo's poem was probably written between 841 and 849. See Dümmler's recension of Wattenbach's *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, 1904, I, pp. 227 ff. But the *De Cultura Hortorum* was an extensive and popular poem, while the *Certamen* was slight and little known; and besides, the material holds its place almost inevitably in the former, the symbolism of the rose naturally suggesting that of the lily, its regular accompaniment. In the *Certamen* the religious significance of the flowers, although perhaps the germ of the dispute, occupies but a few lines.

matter of the *Certamen*.⁶¹ The springtime associations, natural enough in themselves, considering the subject, may also be accounted for by the influence of the *Conflictus*. The form of the poem,—its length, its meter, and its dialogue method, were determined by the eclogue.

In the dreary period of Latin literature which follows the Carolingian epoch, there are so far as I know no clear examples of the *conflictus*. From the middle of the eleventh century occasional poems of the debate type are to be found; and in the latter half of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth, there comes a flood of Latin debates of every description, the majority of which are written in the so-called goliardic stanza. From this time the stream of debate writing flows on without interruption. The Latin poems, circulating as they did in every country, gave rise to a body of similar poetry in the vernacular; the latter, existing side by side with dialogue forms of different origin and undergoing various influences, national, popular, and courtly, was handed down in full vigor to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and has survived in popular and semi-popular poetry to the present day.

The sudden popularity of the *conflictus* in twelfth century literature was due, I believe, to a variety of causes. It reflects, first of all, the rapid development of dialectic education in the multiplying schools of the period. Many of the *conflicti* are in the vein of satire; with the important exception of the versions of body and soul dispute, most of them have the character of a *jeu d'esprit*. They represent the reaction from, often the parody of, the sober pursuits of the school room, and are the work of monks and pedagogues on a crabbed literary holiday or of wild goliardi, the

⁶¹ Another possible source of the debate idea may be found in Latin aenigmata, which in rhetorical hands tend to lose their riddle-like character and to become mere descriptions in the first person. In the well-known collection of Symphosius the aenigmata of the rose and of the violet come together and the one is in a sense an answer to the other.

Rosa: Purpura sum terrae, pulchro perfuso robore
Saeptaque, ne violer, telis defendor acutis.
O felix, longo si possim vivere fato.

Viola: Magna quidem non sum, sed inest mihi maxima virtus.
Spiritus est magnus, quamvis e corpore parvo.
Nec mihi germen habet noxam nec culpa ruborem.

Cf. the debate between rose and violet, discussed below.

primates and archpoets who amused and scandalized the more learned audiences of their time with their Latin rhymes. For the *conflictus* must have adapted itself very well to such entertainment. The dramatic element, the quick exchange of repartee, the contrast in characters, the humiliation of one disputant or the other, gave opportunity for a lively and vivid presentation which must have been effective. The vogue of the *conflicti* may also have been due, in part, to the rise of the courtly vernacular contests already referred to. For it is probable, as Hubatsch suggests,⁶² that one of the incentives to Latin song was a desire on the part of the "vagi scholares" to rival the lay minstrels. But the *jeu parti*, the form of courtly verse which on the whole most resembles the *conflictus*, seems not to have been known before the very end of the twelfth century and was not popular even in the early years of the thirteenth;⁶³ while the popularity of the learned debate certainly goes back into the twelfth century, just how early it is impossible to say.

Taking, then, this body of poems as the undoubted source of the later allegorical debate, can we see in them a continuation of the older academic tradition which seemed to have begun with the pastoral debates of the Carolingian period? Except for the freer style, the new infusion of life resulting from the use of rhythmic verse, and a trend toward parody and satire, reflecting their literary milieu, these debates differ in no essential from the poems discussed above. The introductory narrative, the tendency to limit each argument to a single stanza, the calling in of a judge to decide the combat,—are corresponding features of the earlier and later debate types, though, of course, there are many departures from the norm. The humorous and playful spirit manifested in the Carolingian debates is even more strongly marked in those of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It would seem, on the whole, unlikely that this later set of poems, so similar in their scope, should have sprung up independently of the earlier group.

Of the four Carolingian debates two, the *Conflictus Veris et*

⁶² *Die lateinische Vagantenlieder des Mittelalters*, pp. 6-7.

⁶³ For the *tenso* and *joc partit* in Provence and Northern France see especially Jeanroy, *La tenso Provençale*, *Annales du Midi*, vol. II, pp. 281-304, a review of the works of Knobloch, Selbach and Zenker.

Hiemis and the *Ecloga Theoduli*, were widely popular, the latter enormously so. Fifteen manuscripts of the *Conflictus*, belonging to the ninth and tenth centuries, are referred to by Dümmler.⁶⁴ The fact that the work went under the name of Ovid helped to give it general currency.⁶⁵ The numerous examples of the winter and summer dispute in later mediæval literature may, as Paris implies, owe their origin to the folk drama; but they may, on the other hand, be imitations of the *Conflictus*, with the pastoral setting omitted, and, in some cases, with the addition of folk elements. That the subject matter of the Latin school exercises mentioned by Hauréau,⁶⁶ was suggested by a literary rather than a popular original, is highly probable, and the scholastic character of the French debate⁶⁷ points to the same conclusion.

The influence of the *Ecloga Theoduli* can be more definitely traced. The poem, as is well known, was one of the popular school books of the Middle Ages.⁶⁸ It exists in scores of manuscripts and is mentioned again and again in mediæval library catalogues. An imitation, the *Synodicus*, written in the eleventh century by Warnerius of Basel, in which representatives of the Old and New Testaments take the place of Pseustis and Alithia as characters of the dispute, has been preserved;⁶⁹ and a similar piece is

⁶⁴ *Poetae Latini*, vol. I, p. 270, note.

⁶⁵ See Pascal, *Poesia Latina medievale*, Catania, 1907, pp. 123 ff.

⁶⁶ *Notices et Extraits*, vol. XXIX (2), p. 26.

⁶⁷ *de l'Yver et de l'Esté*, edited by Jubinal, *Nouveau Recueil*, vol. II, pp. 40 ff; for a later version of the same see by Montaiglon, *Anciennes poésies françaises*, vol. X, p. 41. In the earlier of these poems the argument that winter could not live but for the food piled up for him by Summer is made much of. (See Part I of this article, note 29):

"Vivre ne porrez matyn ne seyr
Seurement;
Si ne nasquit greyn de forment
Et autre fruitz communement
Que frez-vous?" etc.

The reference of the dispute to the "seigneurs et dames" looks like a reflection of the popular ceremony, but I can find nothing else in the piece which would indicate a source other than literary.

⁶⁸ The latest account of the popularity of this work in mediæval education is, George L. Hamilton's *Theodulus: A Mediæval Textbook, Modern Philology*, vol. VII, no. 2 and vol. VIII, no. 4. All the important references are there.

⁶⁹ Edited by Dr. Johannes Huemer, *Romanische Forschungen*, vol. III, pp. 315 ff. See Hamilton, *op. cit.*

described in Hugo of Trimberg's *Registrum Multorum Auctorum*.⁷⁰ This poem or still another imitation is elsewhere ascribed,⁷¹ to gether with the *Conflictus Ovis et Lini*,⁷² to Hermannus Contractus. The latter poem is the first extant example of the debate after the ninth century, and the evident association of this conflictus with the poem "on the model of Theodulus" is of especial interest. If Hermannus did actually write both, we are naturally led to consider the *Ecloga* as his chief debate model; if he wrote only the *Ecloga*, it may be that the *Conflictus Ovis et Lini* was ascribed to him because of some resemblance between them. This poem, like the *Pistelegus*, described by Hugo, is a "carmen distichum" (i. e. elegiac). Biblical authority forms one of the staples of the argument throughout; and the conclusion, in which Linum describes the rite of the sacrament and Ovis the vision of the Lamb of God, would correspond very well to the "finem mysticum" of Hugo's description. The fact that both the *Synodicus* and the *Pistelegus* dealt with the old controversy between the Christian and Jewish religions, opens up still another possible connection between the *Ecloga Theoduli* and the later debates; for disputes between Christian and Jew or Church and Synagogue are frequent themes of the vernacular conflicti.

The debate of Ermoldus Nigellus, occurring as it does episodically in a longer poem, is less likely to have been of influence; yet in the subject of the discussion, viz., the relative utility of the two rivers, and in the extended and syllogistic character of the argument, the poem is a nearer precedent to the *Conflictus Ovis et Lini* and other later debates, than any of the other ninth century poems. The relative commercial importance of the two contestants is an important topic in both poems, and the elaborate discussion of fabrics

⁷⁰ *Monatsberichte der kaiserlichen preussischen Akademie*, 1854, p. 156.

"Sequitur Pistelegus, velut altercando
Litem legis veteris et novae declarando,
In quo loco iudicis Pistis designatur,
Sicut in Theodolo Phronesis locatur.
Et per carmen distichum lis haec agitur,
Donec tandem mysticum finem sortiatur."

⁷¹ *Anonymus Mellicensis*, ed. Emil Ettlinger, cap. 91.

⁷² *Haupt's Zeitschrift*, vol. XI, pp. 215-238. For authorship, etc., see also Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, 6th ed., vol. II, p. 44; and Dümmler in *Haupt's Zeitschrift*, vol. XIII, p. 434.

in the *Conflictus Ovis et Lini*, is paralleled by a passage in Ermoldus.⁷³ I do not insist upon these resemblances, but in considering the probability of a connection between the Carolingian conflictus and those of later times, it is well to remember that we do not know what links in the chain have disappeared. Though no conflictus of the tenth century have been preserved, it is almost inconceivable that none were written. Nor is it likely that the four Carolingian poems which I have discussed stood alone.

The contest of rose and lily, is, of all the Carolingian debates, most nearly identical in form and spirit with the typical non-didactic conflictus of later times; and there is one Latin debate of the twelfth or thirteenth century which it is difficult to believe wholly unconnected with Sedulius's poem. The dispute is between the rose and the violet,⁷⁴ and the poet himself, who has wandered, thought-weary, into a garden, is the judge. Each flower speaks but once. The violet claims supremacy because she is first born; her color is the color of Heaven; unlike her rival she injures none with cruel thorns; the rose is associated with lust and shame. The flower of flowers replies with overbearing insolence. How dare the humble violet compare herself with the proud rose; the one bows her head, the other holds hers erect; in color and odor the rose is unsurpassed; she has virtue, too, to cure disease; she is the queen of flowers. The arguments as well as the tone of the poem are substantially those of Sedulius's debate, though, of course, they could not be much different. The poet, like Ver in the earlier contest, instead of deciding between the rivals, rebukes them both for quarrelling. They are the best of flowers and each should call her companion sister and not slave.

There are two vernacular debates between rose and violet, one in Italian by Bonvesin da Riva,⁷⁵ the other in French by Froissart,⁷⁶ both of which seem to be related to the Latin poem. Bonvesin da

⁷³ "Nam tego veste meos vario fucata colore

Quae tibimet nusquam, Wasace, nota foret." vv. 123-4; cf. *Conflictus Ovis et Lini*, vv. 169 ff.

⁷⁴ Reëdited by Tobler, in *Herrig's Archiv*, vol. XC, pp. 152-158.

⁷⁵ *Disputatio Rosae cum Viola*, *Monatsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Hist.-Phil. Classe, 1851, pp. 3 ff.

⁷⁶ *Plaidoirie de la rose et de la violette*, *Poésies de Froissart*, ed. Scheler, Bruxelles, 1870, vol. II, pp. 233 ff.

Riva's debate is strongly didactic, almost every argument illustrating the contrast between the pride of the rose and the modest virtue of the violet, which was suggested in the Latin work. The dispute consists, not of a single speech on the part of each contestant, but of a rapid exchange of arguments; nevertheless the connection of the poem with the *Altercatio* is indubitable.⁷⁷ In Froissart's *Plaidoirie* the flowers are represented by advocates; imagination is the judge, but he refers the dispute to the *fleur de lys*, who dwells in the kingdom of France, surrounded by Hardihood, Youth, Sense, Largess, and Honor. The poem is far removed in plan from both the Latin work and the Italian, but it has a few detailed resemblances with each.⁷⁸ Particularly striking are the correspondences between the Italian and French poems in features not found in the *Altercatio*. In both vernacular pieces the rose and not the violet begins the dispute; in both the violet makes the curious boast that its root as well as its flower is good medicine;⁷⁹ and finally in both poems the contest is decided by the lily. It is unlikely that Froissart used Bonvesin's debate, and the most probable supposition is that the two go back to a common original in which the lily was judge. Whether this hypothetical violet-rose dispute was derived from the *Altercatio* or *vice versa*, it is impossible to say; the

⁷⁷ In both poems the violet claims precedence by right of primogeniture, and accuses the rose of association with lust; the rose vaunts her appearance at a riper season; declares that the violet is downtrodden; boasts of her medicinal properties. The following passages show some verbal resemblances:

"Ancora dise la rosa, 'li cavalier e le done
Il soe belle man me portano, no miga tute persone.
Li nobel polzellete de mi fan soe corone,
E si cirondo la testa dre nobelissime done."

"Me toti convincio choro clericorum
Me portat in manibus turba puerorum
Gestat in capitibus cetus iuniorum,
Fovet suis sinibus ordo seniorum.
Per me querit crescere decor reginarum,
Electarum fulgeo fronte feminarum," etc.

⁷⁸ Both Latin and French debates compare the rose to the sun and the violet to the sky. (*Altercatio*, v. 92, 48, *Plaidoirie*, vv. 110 ff.) Froissart says that the rose is surrounded by thorns that she may not be eaten by goats, like the violet. In the Latin poem the violet remarks incidentally that the rose is goat-gnawed.

"Que a capris roderis, increpata rosa."

⁷⁹ Bonvesin, vv. 134 ff.; Froissart, vv. 245 ff.

presence of the lily would seem to bring us a step nearer to Sedulius's poem. In any case this pretty group of flower debates is particularly instructive as affording perhaps the clearest illustration of the literary history of a typical conflictus,—developed out of learned and rhetorical elements under influences chiefly or entirely literary, handed down from the earliest Middle Ages to the rhythmic poets of the thirteenth century, passing from thence to the vernacular and taking on a courtly or didactic coloring according to the temperament of its redactor.

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NOTES ON RENOART

I

THE portion of *Aliscans* generally known as *Renoart* is considered by most critics as a complete poem which, after existing independently for a certain time, was incorporated into *Aliscans*.¹ Some speak of a lost Renoart cycle. The extant poems concerning Renoart do, in fact, form a cycle, consisting of the *Renoart* portion of *Aliscans*, *Loquifer*, *Moniage Renoart*, *Maillefer* and *Renier*. The question of the relationship of these five poems of the Renoart cycle to each other has been investigated by J. Runeberg² whose study shows that the last four are merely continuations of the *Renoart* of *Aliscans*, and derive all their material from it or from later sources. *Aliscans*, therefore, is the only poem of the cycle that can throw any light on the past history of the Renoart legend. The story of the battle of Larchamp, and with it the story of Renoart, exists in five main versions. These are, in chronological order, (1) *La Chançon de Willame*; (2) all the other extant French poems;³ (3) The M. H. G. version of Wolfram von Eschenbach; (4) the Italian version entitled *Storie Nerbonesi*; and (5) the French prose version. These five branches, ranging from the first half of the thirteenth century⁴ to the middle of the fifteenth, are remarkably unanimous in all the important parts of the story.

When Guillaume d'Orange, sole survivor of the battle in which his nephew Vivien has been killed and all his other nephews taken prisoner, arrives in Mont-Laon (Paris in *Nerbonesi*) to ask help

¹ Cf. R. Weeks, *Etudes sur Aliscans, Romania*, XXXVIII, p. 7.

² *Etudes sur la Geste Raimonart*, Helsingfors, 1905.

³ For convenience of reference, this group of thirteen manuscripts will be referred to by the general name of *Aliscans*, while the battle field will be indicated by the name of Larchamp (or L'Archamp) which it bears in *Willame*. The edition of *Aliscans* used is that of Wienbeck, Hartnacke and Rasch, Halle, 1903.

⁴ This is the date of the manuscript of the *Willame*; cf. P. Meyer, *Romania*, XXXII; the date of the "branch," as given by Dr. Weeks and approved by other critics, is the last quarter of the eleventh century.

of King Louis, his attention is attracted by a young scullion, a giant in stature and strength, who is employed in the king's kitchen. This young giant, *Renoart*, accompanies Guillaume on his expedition, takes part in the battle of Larchamp, frees the imprisoned cousins, kills an astonishing number of "pagans," and wins the battle for Guillaume. We are given distinctly to understand that all the glory of the victory belongs to *Renoart*. Upon the return of the army to Orange, Guillaume forgets to invite *Renoart* to the banquet with which he celebrates the victory, and the hero, justly indignant, threatens to go over to the enemy. He is with difficulty appeased, is loaded with honors, and later is baptized. In the *Willame*, he receives the lands that had belonged to Vivien, and marries Ermentrud; in the other versions, he becomes king of Spain, and marries Aelis, the daughter (or the sister) of King Louis.⁶

The unanimity of all versions in the important parts of the story is one of the marked characteristics of the *Renoart*. Unlike the rest of the poem, it contains no striking contradictions, few or no allusions to events other than those it relates. The independent *Renoart* that is postulated must perforce have been either like or unlike the other we know; if unlike, we might reasonably expect some reference in the extant versions to the lost portion. When we imagine an independent Vivien epic, we can attach some meaning to the term, for there are various allusions in the extant poems to exploits of Vivien differing from those we know; and the allusions are divers enough and important enough to enable one to suppose a lost poem recounting these adventures. In *Renoart* there is nothing of the sort. All that is told or hinted at, with two exceptions, is before us in the extant poems. The episodes that vary

⁶ Tho the *Willehalm* is a fragment, it contains references that foretell the marriage of *Renoart* and Aelis. Cf. J. M. Nassau Noordeweer, *Bijdrage tot de Beoordeeling van den Willehalm*, Delft, 1901, pp. 71-76. Manuscript *M* of *Aliscans* has the following variant:

3873 La fille au roi vot a fame et a per.
Li quens Guillames li voit fere espouser.
Il la cuida bien a lui marier
Mais Loÿs ne le puet endurer
Mais Hermentrud li fist puis ennorer
La belle nece Ermentrut a vis cler.

in the different redactions are either repetitions of parts of the central theme (*e. g.*, the battle scenes) or explanatory episodes introduced late (*e. g.*, the story of the poor man, *Aliscans*, 7375). The two exceptions mentioned above, the only portions that might come from unknown sources, are the account of Renoart's marriage and the account of his youth. In *Willame* the marriage is mentioned twice:

- 3162 Ço dist Willame: "Tu deis (ben) cheualer estre!
 Fel seie io, si io ne te doins terre
 & moiller gente qui ert de bons ancestres!"
 3498 Willame li donad set chastels en fez,
 & Ermentrud li dunent a moiller,
 (&) tote la tere dant Vivien le ber.

We are not told who this Ermentrud is. Dr. Weeks suggests that she may be Vivien's widow, and this seems the most natural assumption; but there is nothing in any known poem to indicate that Vivien had a wife. There may have been originally some explanation of this Ermentrud, but it is also conceivable that she was not originally considered to be of sufficient importance to need any explanation. The fact, if it is a fact, that Renoart in this version marries a woman not connected with Guillaume, can not by itself be taken as an argument for a whole poem differing from the present one.

A more serious question is that of the "Enfances Renoart." This name is given to a short passage, telling how Renoart came to the court of Louis, which differs somewhat in all the versions. In *Willame*, Renoart tells Guiborc that Desramé, starting on an expedition to Meliant, left him in charge of his tutor, Apolicant. The latter left the boy alone one morning, and Renoart promptly ran away, got into a boat and was carried out to sea by a mysterious wind that came up suddenly.⁶ The boat was crushed against the side of a merchant ship, and the child was fished out by the merchants, who sold him to king Louis. The king at first treats him kindly, but when he learns that the boy is the son of Desramé, he makes him serve in the kitchen. He has been doing this menial work for seven years when Guillaume discovers him.⁷

⁶ For the magic in *Renoart*, see J. Runeberg, *op. cit.*, p. 136, and cf. p. 85 ff.

⁷ *Willame*, 507-546.

The version of the other French poems is much more brief: Louis has bought Renoart from merchants, "desous Palerne"; the merchants told him that the child was the son of an "escler." Louis relegates him to the kitchen because he is afraid of his great strength.⁸

Willehalm is still more concise:

in brâhten koufliute über sê
die heten in gekoufet ê
in der Persen lande (191, 11-13)

The version of *Nerbonesi* is the longest and strangest of all.⁹ The author claims to have his story from "Folieri, medico d'Amerigo di Nerbona, nel terzo libro della sua opera, dove tratta de'Nerbonesi."¹⁰ Desramé was in camp at Tolosa, and had taken prisoner Ghibellino, brother of Guillaume; Guillaume had taken Borello, the oldest of Desramé's fourteen sons; and the prisoners had been exchanged. Upon the return of Desramé and Borello, the brothers being in a room together, Renoart comes in carrying a hawk. Borello tells him to take the bird out, and Renoart in a rage, kills it. Borello strikes him for this, and Renoart draws a knife and threatens to kill Borello. The boy, at the age of sixteen, is already of giant stature and strength; Renoart taunts Borello, saying that he dares strike his brother, but dard not strike Guillaume in battle, but allowd himself to be taken prisoner. Borello, in his turn,

⁸ Manuscript *b* of *Aliscans* has

Rois L. ert a Saint Jaque alez.

6375 La m'acata c. mars d'argent pesez;

and *LeM* have

6893a Molt a lonc tens qu'a Cordre fui embles.

⁹ *Nerbonesi*, Book VII, chapters XV to XVIII, between two sections of *Foucon de Candie*, and separated by the latter story from the rest of the *Renoart*.

¹⁰ This passage, and also *Willame* 1260-1264 should be correlated with M. Bédier's theory of the monastic origin of the extant epics. The monks were not the only persons that had an interest in the conservation and invention of epic tales; it is highly probable that we have here a hint of an important source of epic material,—the family traditions of the great nobles. If later counts of Narbonne prized the *chansons de geste* as real histories of their ancestors, why may not the earlier representatives of this and other houses have preserved with equal care, and furnished willingly and gladly to the *jongleurs*, the oral traditions of still earlier times?

wants to kill his brother, and Renoart swears that if he can get vengeance in no other way, he will turn Christian. Thereupon Desramé has him lockt up. His brothers want him killd; Desramé asks advice of the sooth-sayers, who profecy that Renoart will kill his father and brothers. Desramé, nevertheless, will not have him put to death, but keeps him in prison. He has been there for twenty years when Desramé, with an immense host, starts out to attack Orange, and Renoart profits by his father's absence to escape, with the help of two of his guards. Just before his escape, Renoart has a dream or vision of Christ, who offers to set him free if he will promise to turn Christian and kill his father and brothers. Renoart makes the vow, escapes, goes to France to find Guillaume. When he finds that he can not enter Orange because his father has invested it, he goes on to Paris, and asks for service in the king's household. He is taken as scullion, but is soon promoted to the stables.

Besides these four versions, accounts of the youth of Renoart are found in the *Enfances Vivien*,¹¹ and in the prose version of *Aliscans*. The version of the former is as follows: King Louis has taken Luiserne and devastated the Sarracen country. Desramé, at Cordres, hears of it and goes with his army to meet Louis, leaving his youngest son, Renoart, in charge of his tutor, Picolet, with instructions that the boy is to be thrasht if he does not behave. Picolet immediately begins to teach his charge a complete "rogue's catechism," warning him never to believe in the God of the Christians, to abuse good men whenever he meets them, etc. Renoart protests, and Picolet strikes him, whereupon the boy gives his tutor a sound beating. Picolet pretends a reconciliation, but gives the boy a sleeping potion in his wine, and while he is unconscious sells him to some merchants, who in turn sell him to Louis.

The prose version offers still another account. Desramé is in Cordres, planning an expedition against the Christians, when news is brout to him of his daughter's conversion to Christianity and Guillaume's conquest of Orange. He departs immediately to avenge the insult. During his absence, Orable, longing for her brother Renoart, sends two converted Sarracens to Cordres to kidnap him. On the way back, their ship is attackt by Christian

¹¹ Edition Wahlhund, MS. 1448, laisses xcix to cvii.

pilgrims returning from the Orient. The Sarracens are killd, all except Renoart, who is sold, in Spain, to king Louis.¹²

Of all these variants, no two are entirely identical, except, in the main, *Willehalm* and *Aliscans*, which both tell very little. Those that contain most detail differ so widely among themselves that it is difficult to assume a common source. The version of *Nerbonesi* is so strange that it looks almost as tho it might furnish something "independent": it requires hardly a second glance to see that this something is just the ordinary folk-tale device of the prophecy that foretells disaster to the father at the hands of the son, unless the latter is killd, and the usual weakness whereby the destroyer is savd from death to accomplish the prophecy.

The version of *Willame* is also a very common folk-tale episode, in a much simpler dress than that of the *Nerbonesi*. Both these versions, if separated from their connection with Guillaume and the battle of Larchamp, woud have little meaning and no interest. If the simplest version has most chance of being the original, then *Willehalm* and *Aliscans* have preservd the oldest form; the stealing of children was so common during the Sarracen wars, that it requird no effort of the imagination to think of that explana-

¹² The following passages from *Moniage Renoart* have been very kindly communicated to me by Dr. Weeks, who made the copy from the facsimile in black and white of the cyclic manuscript of Boulogne, in the collection of the University of Illinois:

Desoz Palerne me vendirent Escler
A Loëys, qui Franche doit garder,
Et il me fist a Mont Loön mener.
En la cuisine me fist on converser,
Tant fui laens c'uns quens me fist rover.
Che fu Guill., qui tant fist a loër. (fol. 169 r°.)

The Sarracens, thinking Renoart is dead, say of him:

Venons de Cordes, del regne al amirant,
Le bon Tibaut, le fort roi combatant,
Nies Renoart, que mors est voirement.
Grant perte avons et damage molt grant
Que li a fait Guillaumes en l'Archant,
Et Renoars li sos, a son perchant,
Fil Desrame qu'il ot de la gaiant. (fol. 162 v°.)

As the *Moniage*, to judge by the investigation of Runeberg cited above, is later than the *Aliscans* and derives a large part of its material from it, the testimony of the later poem is of little value, unless supported by other evidence.

tion. All the versions, without exception, imply the story of Guillaume and his two battles as their reason for being. They make the impression of being so many different attempts to explain how Renoart came to be at the court of Louis at the precise moment when he could make the acquaintance of Guillaume; which would in turn imply that the original *Renoart* left this point unexplained, as the *Willame* leaves unexplained the singular treatment of Renoart by Guillaume after the battle.¹³

If the "Enfances Renoart" can not be separated from the story of Guillaume without losing its meaning, still less can this be done with the *Renoart* itself. It might be possible to imagine a Renoart who is not the son of Desramé, but a Renoart who is not the hero of Aliscans (or Larchamp) is a contradiction in terms. Separated from the *Guillaume*, this story becomes the merest ghost of a folk-tale. A young prince, strayed or stolen from his home, is brought up in misery by those who know nothing of his identity; through his own efforts he rises out of this condition to wealth and honor, marries a princess and becomes king. An even shorter form is possible, by omitting the royal birth of the hero; then he is simply a scullion who ends by becoming king, and in this form the story is one of the many versions of the folk-tale of "Boots," who is laughed at and

¹³ This meeting at the court is the point of union of the *Renoart* with the older story. Renoart first appears immediately after the famous scene of the "sale pavée." This scene, with all that follows, is wanting in the older portion of *Willame*, which Dr. Weeks has called redaction A. Was this scene introduced as a means of joining the new part to the old, or was it already a part of the story of Larchamp before the addition of the *Renoart*? Dr. Weeks thinks the *Renoart* would sufficiently account for the "sale pavée," but prefers the theory of an intermediate stage, in which a messenger, not Guillaume himself, goes to court. (*Romania*, XXXVIII, p. 7.) Whether the messenger be Guillaume or another, the scene concerns Guillaume and his defeat, and has nothing to do with Renoart; its effectiveness lies in the fact that when Guillaume is defeated and without resource, when Orange is being defended by women, the king refuses help; and the quarrel that follows makes it one of the most dramatic episodes in the Old French literature. In no way does the episode concern Renoart, and it is only after the quarrel is ended and the army is beginning to gather that he has a chance to appear. The *Renoart* might account for the presence of Guillaume, that is, his substitution for the messenger, if that theory is correct, but it does not account for the "sale pavée." Guillaume, on the contrary, is connected with similar episodes in *Couronnement* and in *Charroi de Nîmes*. Cf. also R. Weeks, *The Primitive Prise d'Orange*, *Publications Modern Language Assn.*, Vol. XVI, No. 3.

scorned because he can do nothing but carry water and wood, and turn the spit, but who ends upon a throne. The many passages in which *Renoart* is described as preferring the kitchen to the hall, going even when fully armed to turn the spit for the cook, make the similarity with this folk-tale the more prominent. The *Renoart* part of *Willame*, in fact, starts out as if it meant to give precisely this version. Not until the army reaches Orange are we told that *Renoart* is not a common scullion, but the son of Desramé. It is unmistakable that the *Renoart* in its fundamental nature is a folk-tale, or rather a combination of two of them.¹⁴ All that gives life and individuality to the story is the fact that, being the son of Desramé, he is the ally of Guillaume, and the fact that his exploits surpass those of the greatest of all the epic heroes. There can never have been a *Renoart* apart from the story of Guillaume, simply because, with the *Guillaume* eliminated, there is nothing left of the *Renoart*: on the other hand, the *Guillaume* without the *Renoart* remains complete, and artistically rather improved than otherwise.

Are we to conclude then that the *Renoart* was part of the original "Chanson de Guillaume" and by the same author or compiler? Certainly not. The general tone of the story, the character of *Renoart*, even more than certain differences in language and style,¹⁵ make it difficult to assume that the *Renoart* and the rest of the story of the battle of Larchamp could be by the same author, or even of the same time or intended for the same audience. The *Guillaume* as we have it, with all its inconsistencies, has the same epic tone as the *Roland*; even in prose it can still be recognized as an epic. The *Renoart* in prose might take its place undetected among the "Contes Bleus." The *Renoart* is simply a continuation of the story of Larchamp. Dr. Weeks, in his masterly analysis of the latter poem, indicates the following stages of development:¹⁶

I. Part A of *Willame*.

The action takes place in Spain. Guillaume is at Barcelona with his wife, a recently converted Saracen princess. Vivien, besieged near Tortosa, sends for his uncle, who sets out from

¹⁴ Cf. Bédier, *Légendes Épiques*, I, p. 82, n. 2; and Runeberg, *Études sur la Geste Rainouart*, Introduction.

¹⁵ Cf. R. Weeks, *Modern Philology*, vol. III, p. 19.

¹⁶ *Études sur Aliscans, Romania*, XXXIV, p. 264 ff.

Barcelona, is completely defeated at l'Archamp, where his nephew has been killed in battle. Guillaume escapes alone, and carries home to his wife the body of a young nephew. Upon his arrival at Barcelona, his wife has already assembled a new army, with which he sets out again and this time is victorious.

II. Preserved in *Nerbonesi* and *Foucon*.

The action is partly in Spain and partly at Orange. The hero is at Orange when his nephew sends word that he is preparing to invade "Spain." Guillaume assembles an army and goes to Barcelona, leaving his wife at Orange. Vivien, besieged near Tortosa, sends a message at the last moment to his uncle, who sets out from Barcelona, and is defeated at l'Archamp, where his nephew has been defeated and killed. Guillaume flees alone to Orange, where his wife has already assembled a new army. He sets out from Orange, finds the enemy still at l'Archamp and defeats him.

III. The action is in Spain and at Orange. Guillaume is at Barcelona, we are not told why. The events that follow his departure from this city are as in II. This stage does not exist in any extant text.

IV. Preserved in redaction B of *Willame* and in the Boulogne manuscript of the *Chevalerie Vivien*.

The action takes place at l'Archamp and at Orange. The mention of Barcelona being no longer intelligible, it is omitted. That l'Archamp is in the neighborhood of this city has been forgotten; there remains a vague recollection that l'Archamp is in Spain. Guillaume, who is at Orange, is summoned by Vivien, besieged by the Saracens at l'Archamp. He goes to the assistance of the latter, suffers a crushing defeat, and flees alone to Orange. Fearing a siege, he goes to the court to ask help. The rest is taken from the *Renoart*. The traditional victory won by the prowess of Guillaume is replaced by the victory due almost entirely to Renoart.

V. Preserved in the *Chevalerie Vivien* and *Aliscans*.

The action is at l'Archamp, called also Aliscans, and at Orange. Because of the short time required for the hero to reach the battle field, it is now that that l'Archamp is near Orange, and it is identified with the old cemetery of Arles. Vivien, surrounded by the

enemy at l'Archamp (or Aliscans) calls upon his uncle for help. The latter sets out from Orange, is defeated and returns to Orange, which the Sarracens immediately invest. He succeeds in passing thru their lines and goes to the king. The rest is from the *Renoart*, with additional episodes taken from other sources.

VI. Preservd in *Willehalm*.

The action is at l'Archamp or Aliscans and at Orange. The site of the battle is a cemetery evidently not far from Orange. Vivien, in this poem, leaves Orange with his uncle. The end of the poem is taken from the *Renoart*.

Judging by the *Renoart*, there must have been another stage between III and IV of this table, or perhaps III had such a form, very like the *Willame* of today, but without *Renoart*; in which Guillaume himself frees his imprisoned nephews, avenges the death of Vivien, and carries off the honors of the day. Later, some poet or jongleur in search of novelty, wishing to continue the story, takes some of the folk-tale elements that are as old as the race, and builds them into the epic in the way we have seen.¹⁷ At first, if we may judge by the *Willame*, without greatly disturbing the Guillaume portion, *Renoart*'s exploits are simply added at the end of the others; the only important change is in the episode of freeing the cousins, and in the fact that the credit for the victory is taken from Guillaume and given to *Renoart*.¹⁸ Later, to knit the *Renoart*

¹⁷ The reason given by M. Bedier for considering the *Renoart* a part of the original poem, that "*La Chanson de Guillaume* est en même temps une *Chanson de Rainoart*" (I, 320), and that we have no right to go behind the evidence, is greatly weakened by his own remark in the course of the same argument, tho the author does not seem to realize the fact. If the cycle of Guillaume is a unit whose purpose is the glorification of Guillaume and his family, the recital of the fidelity of the hero to his ungrateful king, then the presence of *Renoart* is a disturbing element, which, far from contributing to the central theme, spoils the whole story and obscures its meaning by the final anticlimax in which Guillaume is pushed aside and reduced to the rôle of a mere foil for the son of his enemy, not to say for an upstart scullion.

¹⁸ Dr. Weeks, who considers the *Renoart* an independent poem, thinks the action of the original may have been supposed to take place during the lifetime of Charlemagne, citing in support of this view *Willame* 2801-2805:

"Ne vient il dunct?" "Nun, dame." "Co m'est laid!"

"Malade gist a sa chapele a Es."

Et dist Guiburc: "Cest vers auez vus fait."

more firmly into the older poem, exploits connected with the names of Vivien and Guillaume are transferd to Renoart.¹⁹ The new hero takes the popular fancy, people want to hear more of him, and the furnisners of tales, nothing loth, proceed to expand farther. As the *Aliscans* has already been expanded until it will hold no more, they build, of burlesque materials, a *Moniage Renoart* on the model of the *Moniage Guillaume*, connecting the name and fame of Renoart with the monestary of Brioude. With the aid of the fairy folk of the Breton legends they construct the exploits of his son and grand-son. The result of it all is a Renoart cycle, three parts Breton fairy-tale, one part "Universalvolkssage," the whole serving as a continuation of a great war-epic.

The *Renoart*, then, in the cycle of Guillaume, is a thing apart; originating as a continuation of *Aliscans* (i. e., of the *Guillaume*), having a later development of its own. Neither historic nor monastic in origin, it implies nothing behind it but the brain of the poet, the fund of popular tales, and the song of the battle of Larchamp. This last trait is not without its significance. The redaction of *Willame* is, according to Dr. Weeks and others, of the last quarter of the eleventh century; which means that the story of the battle of Larchamp, practically as we have it, was completely organized and furnisht with a sequel before the time when, according to M. Bédier,²⁰ the jongleurs receivd from the monks of Aniane and Gellone the name and also the personnage of Guillaume.

Whatever its date, the *Renoart* throws practically no light on

S'il ore gist, ia na releue mes!"

"Ne uoille Deu, qui tote rien ad fait!"

To interpret the lines thus it must be assumed that every word in the poem after line 2647 is no longer *Guillaume*, but *Renoart*. If the above theory that the *Renoart* was grafted upon a complete *Guillaume* is correct, then there must be some passages in the amended poem, even in the much condense *Willame*, that were there before the addition of the *Renoart*, particularly the passages concerning the return of Guillaume to Orange, and the battle scenes. The lines cited are very obscure, but such meaning as can be found in them connects them with Guillaume and not with Renoart. They suggest the scene of the "sale pavée," which has more than one connection with Charlemagne. Renoart, on the contrary, is always connected with Louis and with Paris.

¹⁹ E. g., the deaths of Haucebier and of Desramé, and the episode of Baudus. Cf. R. Weeks, *Etudes sur Aliscans, Romania*, XXXVIII, p. 34.

²⁰ *Légendes Épiques*, I, pp. 404-405.

the problems of the *Chanson de Guillaume*, and very little on the larger problem of epic origins; it only shows one of the elements of which epics may be composed.

II

The various versions of the *Renoart*, extending chronologically over several centuries, offer an interesting, if not very important, illustration of the varying taste of successive epochs. In almost all versions, Renouart has certain traits that distinguish him from the other personages of the story, but in each epoch his character is slightly different.

All epic heroes are somewhat alike; fighting men, with little sentimentality about them; often cruel, and sometimes, in the older poems, illiterate; but always noblemen, with the simple but effective feudal code of honor as the foundation of their being. Renoart, in sharp contrast to this type, is "très peuple."²¹ He is not only stupid, but there is an element of coarseness in him that makes him different from all the other heroes. Seeing him first among the cooks and later among the knights, it is quite plain to which class he really belongs. In this contrast between his royal birth and the fortunes that await him and the vulgarity of his life and character before meeting Guillaume, lie the artistic possibilities of the story; but most of the *remanieurs* did not know how to take advantage of the opportunity.

The *remanieur* of the *Chanson de Willame* seems hardly to have noticed the contrast at all. In this version, Renoart is frankly "asotés" and brutal throughout the poem. He not only kills everyone who displeases him, but sleeps peacefully with the dead body of his victim for a pillow. He boasts, after the battle, that he has killed thirty of his relatives, and with equal indifference threatens to go over to the enemy and make war on Guillaume. His tastes are those of the villain; when Guiborc offers him a place in the hall among the knights, he prefers the kitchen; when she offers him arms and a horse, he refuses; and when she has finally persuaded him to accept a sword, "espee ceinte s'en vait les hastes torner."²²

²¹ Except in *Nerbonesi*, as will be seen later.

²² Compare *Enfances Vivien*, where Vivien betrays his noble birth by his passion for horses and arms and hunting dogs.

On the battle field, Renoart's tremendous strength commands a certain respect, but even here his vulgarity is always plain, and the incongruity of planting this clown on equal terms among the flower of French chivalry strikes the modern reader so forcibly that one wonders just why and how it appealed to its contemporaries. If it is true that literature reflects the character of its audience as well as of its authors, if it is true that the elegance and refinement of Chrestien de Troyes imply a corresponding elegance and refinement in his readers, that the Iliad implies an audience of free fighting men who believe in and fear the Olympian gods, who can appreciate the power of Helen and admire Ulysses, if literature as a mirror of life and customs means anything at all, then we are bound to believe that the *Roland*, the *Guillaume*, the *Raoul*, the *Renaut de Montauban*, were composed primarily not for the rabble in a village square, nor for a mixt crowd of men and women of all classes and conditions, bound on a religious errand, but for the iron-coated, iron-fisted, and too often iron-hearted warrior-barons, who could see in these poems a picture, idealized but essentially true, of their own lives and thots. This interpretation, if correct, accounts also for the *Renoart*. The audience that could enjoy this clumsy and vulgar hero can hardly have been the same audience that appreciated Guillaume and Vivien; and the gradual substitution of Renoart for these two is probably the sign of a new epoch, one in which the baron and his *mesnie* were no longer on the same footing, and in which the war literature of the earliest period, displast little by little among the upper classes by the growing popularity of the Breton cycle, is inherited by the "common herd," and modified to suit its taste. The jongleur who sang of Guillaume, driven from the hall by the singers of Lancelot, appealed to the crowd in the marketplace for his daily bread. Of his subject, the lives of ancient heroes, the crowd probably understood mainly that these heroes were very great and very "different from us." They demanded a hero within the range of their understanding, one that embodied their own aspirations, and he was promptly forthcoming. M. Bédier has remarked, with his usual keenness, that very few of the cyclic manuscripts of *chansons de geste* that have come down to us seem to have been made for the libraries of the rich. Most of them were

made for the jongleur, anxious to preserve the material on which his daily bread depended, collecting, combining, condensing or amplifying, changing his story to suit the slowly but surely changing taste of his audience; and every change of mood of that audience has left its mark on the story. Of course the desire for novelty was counterbalanst, as it always is, by a contrary spirit of conservatism; also the effect of the audience on the poem woud depend upon the talent of the jongleur who servd as medium. The lazy or untalented man woud work along the line of least resistance, and present the old material with as few changes as the audience could be made to accept; to this incapacity, together with the conservative spirit of the audience, we doubtless owe the preservation of much of the older tradition. On the other hand, the singer of talent or ambition woud be fird by a spirit of emulation and woud produce, according to the degree of his ability, such clever stories as *Foucon de Candie*, or such inane things as *Loquifer*. But both *Foucon* and *Loquifer* are apparently of later date than the *Renoart*, however much of the old tradition may be preservd in the former; at any rate, both imply audiences of very different taste from that of the *Renoart*. The latter, in the version of *Willame*, has the crudeness, the directness, the absence of perspective, that we find in the older folk-tales, as well as the same power of blocking in with a few bold strokes a striking picture of a single fase of human experience; and this trait distinguishes the *Renoart* from the poem to which it serves as continuation. The story of the battle of Larchamp, to its reciters and its hearers, was evidently history, and was written for those to whom this history was a matter of personal interest; the *Renoart* was written for those who were less interested in history than in the type that Renoart represents, which recurs with innumerable variants in the folk-lore of all nations—the type of the lowly and opprest who rise to power.

The various *remanieurs* to whom we owe the group of manuscripts comprizd under the name of *Aliscans* seem to have appreciated more or less the contrast between the carактер and the situation of *Renoart*, and to have made capital of it. Tho the manuscripts vary more or less in detail, a general carактерistic of this group is the introduction of new, and the extension of old epi-

sodes, with the deliberate purpose of emphasizing the clownish and brutal side of Renoart's character, evidently in order to heighten the contrast between Renoart "asotés," the butt of everyone's jokes, and Renoart the hero of Aliscans, the king of Spain, the rival of Guillaume. There is visible a diminished appreciation of the epic quality of the poem, and a more "bourgeois" point of view. In some versions "li frans borgeois" is introduced in person, and given a role of honor in connection with the famous scene of the *sale pavée*; while the episode of Orleans seems an assertion of the rights of the commons against the nobles. These traits strongly suggest the influence of the rising middle class, which has now appropriated the old poem, arrived thus at the third milestone of its literary development.

Cronologically, the version of *Willehalm* should be considered next; but in this case the chronological order does not correspond to the stage of development represented by the respective versions. The intervention of genius sets the *Willahalm* apart from the rest; therefor it will be considered last, as representing the most perfect literary form of the legend.

The version of the *Nerbonesi* is very interesting, tho it has not the same importance for the investigation of the Renoart legend as for that of other portions of the cycle. Apparently, Andrea got his material from a number of sources, very different in age and literary value: The *Renoart* portion is divided sharply into two parts by two quite contradictory presentations of the character of Renoart, which evidently come from different sources. The first is the account of the youth of Renoart, already cited. In this story Renoart is if possible more brutal, more "primitive" than even in the *Willame*. In perfect accord with the character of the hero is the naïve simplicity with which Jesus is represented as exacting from him a promise to kill his father and brothers. In odd contrast with this crudeness is the care with which every portion of the story is logically connected with what precedes and what follows, and every episode explained. This logical connection is of course due to cyclic arrangement. In the second part of the story, beginning with the entrance of Renoart into France, a wholly new tone prevails. Renoart, far from being a brute, is almost a dandy.

He enters the service of Louis voluntarily, and not by way of the slave market; tho he begins in the kitchen, as in the other versions, he does not stay there, but is soon promoted to the stables. He falls in love with the king's sister Elizia, the charming young widow of the "duca d'Oriense," and manages to attract her attention. She sends often for Renoart, and is much pleazd with his conversation. The tone of this intercourse reminds one strongly of the gallantry depicted in the provençal lyrics. Almost the only trait of his traditional character that Renoart still retains is his enormous appetite. Renoart remains thus a year, and often wonders why Guillaume does not come for help! It is in Elizia's presence that Guillaume first sees Renoart. When the marquis asks him to join the expedition to Larchamp, Renoart immediately asks for arms. While the army is assembling, a contest in military games gives Renoart a chance to show his strength, not, as in the other versions, by killing people, but by defeating all the other young men in the games. The celebrated *tinel*, which in *Aliscans* he obtains by pulling up a tree in the king's forest, and killing the forester who tries to interfere, is obtained in *Nerbonesi* in a much more civilizd way. Renoart politely begs Guillaume to allow him to show his strength by pulling up a large pine; when he has done so, it occurs to him that this woud make a good weapon, so he asks permission to keep it, as the sword is too light a weapon for him. We are far from the Renoart of *Willame*, going into battle with the *tinel* on which for seven years he had carried his water tubs. In *Nerbonesi*, he sets out fully armd, and takes the sword, with the instinct of a knight, forgetting the unusual weapon; in *Aliscans* he forgets it because he is drunk.

The above will suffice as a sample of the way in which the Italian version, while following in the main the traditional story, accomplishes, by the complete suppression of the brutal element,²³ by omitting most of the comic episodes, and by the introduction of new features, a transformation in the character of Renoart. He is an elegant young nobleman, equally removed from the "Renoart asotés" of the *Willame*, the comic villain of *Aliscans*, and the

²³ Except in the portion concerning the youth of Renoart, which, as explaiend above, is from another source.

pompous yet colorless center of magical tricks into which the *Loquifer* series transforms him. He is no longer "Renoart al Tinel."

In all these "civilizd" versions, the effect is weakend in proportion to the degree of civilization; in *Aliscans* by making Renoart purposely comic, in *Nerbonesi* by making him incongruous and trite. The only one of the many handlers of the theme who made full use of the possibilities of the story was the author of *Willehalm*, and it is this that makes Wolfram's version unique.²⁴ In the *Nerbonesi*, Renoart is transformd into a gentleman by simply obliterating his traditional carcter; the method of Wolfram is much more subtle. He introduces his own opinions and interpretations, not by changing materially the story he is telling, but by adding comments and reflections, leaving the legend practically intact.²⁵ The author shows great skill in handling these commentaries. By means of them he introduces perspective into the crude drawing of his model. The hand of the "Hofdichter" is very evident, in the more urbane atmosfere that pervades the whole work; but this atmosfere has nothing in common with the simpering elegance of the *Renoart* of *Nerbonesi*. The most characteristic trait of Wolfram's version is that he emfasizes moral qualities, and changes completely the caracter of Renoart, from a bit of brutal comedy to a study of mental development; and he does this by simply giving his opinion of the situations which he retells with great faithfulness. He tells the story of Renoart's brutality as he finds it in the text before him, and then changes him, by a mere word of comment, from a clown to a striving, earnest, noble man. Renoart's drunkenness, for instance, which is simply omitted in *Nerbonesi*, is faithfully, tho with apparent reluctance, recorded by Wolfram, and then explaind on the

²⁴ On the sources of the *Willehalm*, see, besides the work of Nassau-Noordewier mentiod above, *The Sources of Wolfram's Willehalm*, by Susan Almira Bacon, Tübingen, 1910.

²⁵ Tho the *Willehalm* is not an exact translation, it is a faithful reproduction of its model. However numerous and startling the variants, they concern only details, and, except for the missing end, the main outline of the *Willehalm* is the same as that of *Aliscans*. As already mentiond, part of the end of the *Renoart*, i. e., the marriage of Renoart and Aelis, is distinctly foretold. Most of the variants of the *Willehalm*, tho not found united in any one version of *Aliscans*, are found somewhere, in one or another of the many redactions. Cf. note 1.

ground of his ignorance of the effect of strong drinks; (276) his rage against his own people is due to indignation because no attempt has ever been made to find the lost child. (292-293) A characteristic passage is Renoart's first appearance in the poem, when he enters the palace court-yard, ragged and sooty, carrying a tub of water, the laughing-stock of squires and pages. We have seen how this dramatic but rather undignified entrance is changed in *Nerbonesi*; Wolfram translates from his model the picture of the personal appearance of the lad, then adds certain remarks of his own on the character of his hero which immediately put Renoart on a very different plane:

man nam sin niht ze rehte war,
 nâch sinre geschickt, nâch siner art.
 etswâ man des wol innen wart,
 unt viel daz golt in den phuol,
 daz es nie rost übermuol:
 der es schowen wollte dicke,
 ez erzeugt etswâ die blicke
 daz man sin edelkeit bevant.
 swer noch den grânât jâchant
 wirfet in den swarzen ruoz,
 als im des dâ nach wirdet buoz,
 errzeiget aber sin roete.
 verdacter tugent in noete
 pflac Rennewart der kûchenvar. (188, 18-189, 1.)

The mere statement (271) that Renoart is like Parzival, an untaught, neglected youth striving toward a higher life, puts the story into an atmosphere entirely foreign to the French poems, without any essential change of the incidents of the narrative, and with little or no loss of epic power and directness. Wolfram's Renoart has been made brutal and coarse by his manner of life, but aspires to higher things, and is capable of them; all he needs is a chance, and he finds it in the battle of Larchamp. The regenerating force is not mere prowess, as in the French poems, but devotion to a cause. That this cause is a queer mixture of patriotism, religion and "minnedienst" is simply the result of the interpretation of a

French epic by a master of "hofdichtung." The important and characteristic trait is that the emphasis is shifted from external events to their spiritual effects. Renoart rises not only to worldly honor, but to real moral equality with Guillaume and "la grant geste."

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BARTHELEMY ANEAU: A STUDY IN HUMANISM

(Continued from Vol. I, page 410)

IX

AFTER 1545, Aneau became more absorbed in his literary work. He experienced great difficulty in maintaining the high standard he had set for the college on the annual budget allowed by the city. As the Consulate failed to provide for the needs of the institution, it was incumbent upon him to secure funds in some other manner. However much his teaching may have suffered because of his increased interest in literature, the college as a whole benefited greatly thereby. If the Echevins consented, from time to time, to make repairs on the college buildings, they invariably turned a deaf ear to all appeals for increase of salaries. So he felt it his duty to come to the rescue of the institution for which he had already made so many sacrifices.

We have noted elsewhere that during the preceding century, the Confrérie de la Trinité owned various buildings and gardens, which were, according to M. Charvet, "à peu près confinés par les voies actuelles, savoir: la rue Neuve, au sud; le Rhône au levant; le prolongement de la rue Mulet vers le Rhône, au nord; et le prolongement vers le sud de la ruelle Commarmot, au couchant."¹ When the city secured possession of this property, it made use of all the buildings, but not entirely for educational purposes. A short time after Cublize had moved into the college in 1533, the Consulate voted the sum of 300 livres for repairs on the buildings. These improvements were as follows: "Parfaire la grant salle frappant et aiant regard sur la rue Montribloz pour servir de boyre et manger aux escolliers; faire cinq petites chambres sur ladite salle quant à la muraille et massonnerie seulement; remonter les murailles de la

¹ Charvet, *Le Collège de la Trinité* in the *Mémoires de la Société litt. etc., de Lyon*, 1874, p. 230; ROMANIC REVIEW, I, p. 201.

cuisine et garde-manger joignant ladite salle; y faire deux chambres dessus pour la demourance du maistre principal et régens."²

Notwithstanding these additions to the main building, it was soon found that the growth of the institution was hampered for lack of space. Furthermore this building was antiquated and unfit for educational purposes.³ Frequent complaints were made by the principals and professors, but all to no avail. As long as the city remained in charge of the college, little or no thought was given to the construction of new buildings. The Consulate even neglected to supply the necessary furnishings. In fact, Aneau provided at his personal expense, "plusieurs réparacions nécessaires . . . aud. colliege, comme les comptoirs, chieres des classes, verrieres des chambres et plusieurs aultres utencilz nécessaires et très utiles aud. colliege."⁴ But the salary of the principal was not large enough to allow him to indulge so freely in liberalities. It is obvious, therefore, that he must have secured aid from some other source. Royalties from his publications helped him somewhat; while his clever and well-turned prefaces brought him, without doubt, comfortable sums from those to whom they were addressed. In addition, the Consulate took advantage of his talent on many public occasions—a service for which he was often well remunerated. If then, the city, already overburdened with taxes for the maintenance of the army of defense, was unable to come

² *Registres consulaires, série CC 894, fo. 77 vo.*; cf. *Revue de la Renaissance*, X, p. 152. In his complaint to the Consulate in 1544, Cublize states that this was "une grande et grosse perte" for him, as he was compelled to "louer des maisons pour louer lesd. maistres et enfans." Furthermore, he adds that he expended "après les ouvriers qui batissoient led. collège, pour les faire haster de travailler, la somme de troys livres tournois, tant en pain, chair, vin et aultres viandes, que se montoit dix solz tourn. pour chacune semaine" (*ibid.*, p. 155). It is evident therefore that it required several years to complete these works.

³ That the city did not place a high value on it is apparent from the annual inventory of 1551, which states that: "la maison de la Ville tient . . . plus, le collège et granges de la Trinité, en rue Neufve, extimé le tout par an IIIIxx l. tourn." *Actes cons. CC 44, fo. 118*. The city was obliged to pay Claude Gravier 40 livres a year for the use of his house during the administration of Cublize; and Gravier, being secretary of the city, had rented it to the Consulate at a very moderate price. Cf. *ibid. CC 894, fo. 77 vo.*

⁴ *Acte cons. du 31 déc. 1551, série BB 172, fo. 182*. As soon as the Jesuits secured possession of the college in 1567, things underwent a decided change: plans for enlargement were immediately outlined. Cf. Charvet, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

to his assistance, Aneau found in his literary work a means of providing for the most urgent needs of the college.

Yet this was not the only difficulty with which Aneau had to contend. His wide-spread popularity served to increase the hostility of his enemies. This fact became evident in 1544, when the former principal, Claude de Cublize requested the Consulate to return the college to his charge. In this curious document, Cublize promises that, if his request is granted, he will place in the college "des régens beaucopt plus sçavans sans compareson que ceulx qui y son, car il y tiendra meilleur ordre et pollice qu'il n'y a pour le présent," and he adds "enquerez-vous, et du tout vous en serez la vérité, mesmes par les pédagogues dud. colliege." But the supreme argument of the former principal is that he will celebrate three masses a week in the college, and that he will have "ung aultre prestre pour aider à estudier les petis enfans, lequel en célébrera quatre toutes les sebmains; et en ce faisant les escolliers auront messe ung chacun jour de la sebmaine, qu'il sera un gros bien et prouffict à eulx."⁵

Notwithstanding that the Echevins refused to eject Aneau, but merely sent Cublize "trente livres tourn. en faveur de sa viellesse et pourété, et pour demeurer quiète envers luy des réparations et services qu'il a faictz et en quoy la ville luy pouroit estre tenu"⁶—notwithstanding this fact, the statement of the former principal indicates a change of religious feeling that the city was gradually undergoing. Ever since the foundation of the college—and, I may add, throughout the administration of Cublize—the small children were taught by a lay *bachelier*, and not by a priest. By assuming this attitude, Cublize was hoping to secure the support of the devout Catholics. Furthermore, it also goes to show that the Collège de la Trinité was regarded with increased suspicion in certain quarters.

The violence of this secret hostility was shown in another manner. With the pretext that a stone was thrown from the college grounds into a building occupied by them, some mariners of the Rhône entered the court of the college on the 21st or 22d of July, 1546, and took their revenge by beating unmercifully the children

⁵ Arch. com., *ibid.* CC 963. Cf. *La Revue de la Renaissance* (1909), X, pp. 154-6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, and also CC 960.

who were there at play. It is interesting to note that this will be the same plea offered in extenuation of their act by those who forcibly entered the college in 1561—an infraction whose consequence was the murder of Aneau. The act of the mariners was so outrageous and inexcusable that Aneau determined to bring the offenders to justice. Accordingly we read in the Consular Acts that, on the 29th of July, 1546,

“Mre. Barthélemy Aigneau, principal du colleige de la Trinité, est venu remonstrer que plusieurs bateliers, reveyrans, et autres gens assez hayneux dudict colleige, puis sept ou huict jours entrarent au colleige, et, à l’apetit de ce qu’ils disoient qu’on avoit rué une pierre dudict colleige dedans la grange illecq près que souloit tenir et tient encoures Jehan Johannel, baptirent et blessarent certains escoliers et enfans qui estoient à l’esbat dans la court dudict colleige, de sorte qu’il y en a ung entres autres qui est fort blessé et a esté visité à ce jourd’huy par les maistres barbiers qui en ont fait leur rapport. A ceste cause requiert le présent consulat se vouloir joindre avecq eulx et que inhibicions soient faictes esdictz reveyrans et autres de ne injurier ne agredir ainsi ledict colleige comme ilz sont coustumiers, craignant qu’il n’y ayt, s’il dure, quelque scandalle. Sur quoy a esté ordonné à Monsieur de La Bessée, procureur de ladict ville, se joindre au nom de ladict communaulté en ladict matière, et y faire son debvoir et faire ce qui y sera de besoing.”⁷

The speedy action of the Echevins had without doubt the desired effect: at any rate the college suffered no further irritation from this quarter. The enemies of Aneau now realized that, unlike the conditions existing in most cities where there were institutions of learning, the civil and college authorities were on the closest terms; and that the former guarded most carefully against any infringement upon the liberties enjoyed by the latter.

But the numerous tokens of esteem that Aneau was receiving at this time from his friends and admirers more than made up for the annoyance that he was suffering. One of the most gratifying was an epigram in the *Fontaine d’Amour*, a volume of epistles and

⁷ *Acte consulaire du 29 juillet, 1546; Arch. com. BB 64, fo. 169.* Jean de la Bessée is the doctor of laws of Villefranche who, in 1530, was called by the Consulate to consult with Claude de Bellièvre and Jean de Vauzelles about the lawsuit brought against the city and the college by the dean and chapter of the Eglise Saint-Jean. Cf. *le Collège de la Trinité à Lyon avant 1540, Revue de la Renaissance*, X, 1909, pp. 137-8.

epigrams published in 1546 by Charles Fontaine, one of the professors in the Collège de la Trinité. This young poet had acquired renown a few years before through the brilliant epistle which he wrote in defense of Marot against Sagon—probably the most important literary effort evoked by this celebrated quarrel.

From the fact that Aneau is nowhere mentioned in the works of Maurice Scève, M. Baur, the most recent biographer of Scève, is inclined to believe that the two poets were open enemies. So he concludes that if the *Quintil Horatian* is a protest against Du Bellay, "il l'est aussi contre Maurice Scève et le groupe d'auteurs qui l'ont reconnu comme maître."⁸ As no evidence is adduced in support of this statement, we must not take it too seriously. The very fact that these two poets were placed in charge of the entrance of Henry II. into Lyons in 1548 is sufficient in itself to refute the assertion of the above biographer. But yet more important evidence is the aforementioned epigram of Fontaine, which is addressed to *ses deux amys Maurice Scève et maître Bartolemy Aneau*. If the two poets were not on good terms, Fontaine, who was a close friend of Aneau, would certainly not have coupled their names in this manner. He not only places the two Lyonnese on the same plane, but addresses them as if they were of one mind in regard to literary matters. Listen to the words of the poet:

Si vostre Esprit estoit en moy,
 Je ne faindrois de vous escrire:
 Car i'entends bien, et si le voy,
 Qu'en luy pouuez trop mieux eslire
 Ce que les sçauants voudroient lire.
 Mais ie vous escry seulement
 Pour donner vostre iugement
 Sur mes passetemps de ieunesse.
 Va doncq', liuret, douteusement
 Recevoir d'eulx sentence expresse.⁹

In fact, when we compare the work of Scève and Aneau, we

⁸ *Maurice Scève et la Renaissance lyonnaise*, Paris, 1906, p. 113. See my review of this work in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxiii, pp. 229-231.

⁹ *La Fontaine / d'Amour, con- / tenant Elegies, Epi- / stes, et Epi- / gram- / mes. // A Paris. / 1546 / De l'Imprimerie de Ieanne de Marnef. Ff. MVI vo. and MVII ro. Bibl. nat., Réserve Ye 1609.*

can easily understand why they did not come more frequently into contact with one another. Scève was distinctly a poet—one who was attempting to introduce a more profound lyrical note into this form of art. Aneau, on the contrary, was a scholar whose literary reputation, up to this time, rested mainly on his prose and Latin verse. His French poetry did not have any special quality that would distinguish it from that of the ordinary versifier. Until now, he was following rather closely the footsteps of his master Clément Marot. Furthermore, Scève was in comfortable circumstances, and cared little whether or not his work would appeal to the general public. Notwithstanding his immense vogue among the élite, the present rarity of the *Délie* shows that it was not a work that would tempt publishers. Aneau, however, was always more or less financially embarrassed, and had to rely on literature to a certain extent for an existence. In a city justly renowned for the number of its brilliant minds, there was little occasion for two men of such widely different tastes to come into close relation with one another.

X

The year 1548 is of great importance in the annals of Lyons because of the brilliant reception given to the new king of France. The citizens of the metropolis of the south greeted then for the first time Henry II. and the royal family. While most of the intelligent class were not deceived as to the mediocre talents of the successor of Francis I., yet the closing years of the latter's reign—years of great anxiety to all—made any change welcome. The Consulate desired therefore to make this entrance eclipse in splendor anything of a similar nature that had occurred during the reign of Francis. It was in the vicinity of Lyons that Henry's elder brother, the Dauphin, had met with his sudden death; and the Lyonnese wished to atone, by means of a splendid festival, for what they considered a most unjustifiable crime. However, the numerous wars in which Francis engaged—in addition to religious persecution—had proven a serious drain on the resources of the nation. But the city, notwithstanding the *penurie des deniers*, determined to do its best.

Though the king was due to arrive on the 23d of September,

1548, preparations for his reception were already well under way in the spring of that year. In order to secure the favor of the sovereign, it was customary to make him some valuable present on which was inscribed a motto befitting the occasion. Accordingly on the 11th of May, the Echevins held a special meeting in which the nature and form of these gifts were to be decided upon. The interesting account of their deliberations, which have remained unpublished, although much attention has been given to this *entrée solennelle*, is thus conceived:

"Après que lesd. sieurs conseillers et consulat ont longuement délibéré sur les dons et présens qu'il conviendra faire au Roy Henri, nostre sire, et à la Royne, à leur nouvel et joyeux advènement et entrée qu'ilz doyvent de bref faire en cested. ville. En esgard à la penurie des deniers communs de lad. ville, et que l'on est endebté et en arriere de plusieurs grosses sommes de deniers, a esté ordonné faire les présens pour lesd. entrées, assavoir: pour le Roy jusques à la somme de sept à huict cens escuz d'or soleil et pour la Royne jusques à la somme de six cens escuz d'or soleil. Pour lesquelz présens, a esté ordonné faire faire quelque bonne divis e qu'il soit bien faicte, et à laquelle lesd. seigneurs Roy et Royne preignent plaisir. Pour l'invention desquelles divises, a esté ordonné prier et parler à Mre. Maurice Sève, Monsieur Choul, le principal du college de la Trinité nommé Barthélemy Aneau, et aux autres gens de savoir, tant orphèvres que autres pour, après avoir eu leur adviz, prendre le meilleur."¹⁰

These three humanists called into consultation a well-known artist of Lyons, Salomon Bernard, dit le *Petit Bernard*, whose wood-engravings gave Aneau the idea of composing the *Picta Poesis* and the *Imagination poétique* in 1552.¹¹ After the committee had de-

¹⁰ *Acte consulaire du 11 mai, 1548; Arch. com. BB 68, fo. 57.* Guillaume du Choul (*Caulius*) was a wealthy citizen of Lyons. He had been for many years *bailli* in the mountains of the Dauphiné, which was his native country. He possessed the most important cabinet of antiquities in France. His son was the author of several works on natural history, medicine, etc. For the biography and bibliography of these two personages, see *Revue du Lyonnais*, 1866, p. 103; Baur, *ibid.*, p. 15; Baudrier, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 384; Christie, *Dolet*, p. 162, etc. The following rare translation of one of Choul's works is worthy of note: *Discorso della religione antica de Romani . . . insieme con un altro simile discorso della castrametatione et bagni antichi de Romani, tradotti in Toscano da M. Gabriel Simeoni Fiorentino*, Lione, G. Rovillio, 1559, fol. *Catalogue of Hoe Sale*, New York, 1911, no. 309. This work was sold for \$600.

¹¹ For Bernard, cf. Bregnot du Lut, *Mélanges biogr. et litt.*, Lyons, 1828, p. 277.

cided upon the form of these presents, Bernard prepared the models, and Jean Delabarre, a goldsmith, executed them in silver and gold. In the order of payment to Delabarre, the minutes of the Consulate state that the present of the king consisted of "ung Roy assis en une chaire, audevant duquel sont deux Vertuz dressées debout qui présentent au Roy ung lyon d'or," while that of the queen was "une basse (*base*) en tryangle, sur laquelle il y a une Reyne assize en une chaire, portant deux cornetz d'abondance, et audevant d'icelle ung lyon."¹²

Fortunately there exists an accurate description of this *entrée solennelle*, written by Maurice Scève and published at the expense of the city. From it we learn that the festival began on Monday, September 23, and lasted for about eight days. On Tuesday, September 24, the Echevins went in a body to greet the royal visitors and to present them the presents prepared with so much care. This interesting ceremony is described as follows by Maurice Scève:

"Le lendemain qui fut Mardy, Messieurs les Conseillers de la Uille uindrent faire la reuerence à sa Magesté, et luy presenterent leur present en un estuy de uelours noir à passementz de fil d'argent et de soye noire, le dedans doublé de satin cramoisy. Lequel estoit d'un Roy armé à l'antique, assis en une chaire, de laquelle le deuant d'ossier, et brassieres estoient de quatre croissantz gentement et à propos bien inuentez: et le bas des arcz iointz, et entretenus des chiffres de sa deuise. Au deuant deux Deesses presentant au mylieu d'elles un Lion, qui se humilioit. L'une estoit Foy, designée selon l'antiquité, tenant un pain en une main, et en l'autre un uase. L'autre Liberalité avec une tessere (qui est un dé en forme de pirouette) et soubz le pied droict le disque. Et tout sur une platte forme quarrée mignonement, et artistement ourée de moulures et armoiries de la Uille. Aux deux mylieu (*sic*) des costez, deux compartiments ou estoit, FIDEI LIBERALITATISQ. PVBLICAE D. Après auoir esté humainement receuz du Prince, et remerciez, uindrent faire leur debuoir enuers la Royne, à laquelle, après la reuerence, et harengue en recommandation de la Uille, luy presenterent son present dans un estuy couuert de uelours uert, passémenté d'argent, le dedans de satin cramoisy. Lequel estoit la Déesse Prospérité assise, tenant entre ses bras deux cors d'abondance pleins de fruitz. Sur le hault desquelz sortoit un Lys au mylieu, et lequel se ouuroit par la cyme, et en yssoient deux testes d'enfantz iusques aux espaulles. Et à ses piedz un aultre enfant grand, et se iouant à une boule ronde

¹² *Actes cons., série BB 68 (1547-48).*

esmaillée de rouge, représentant les pommes de ses armoiries, et toutesfoys ceincte à trauers d'un cercle d'or, figurant le Zodiaque, pour demonstrier Monseigneur le Daulphin debuoir quelque iour s'emploier au gouuernement du monde. Lesquelles figures posoient sur une platte forme triangulaire aux armes de la Uille, et d'un tillet. *Semper honos nomenq; tuum laudesq; manebunt.*¹³

There is little doubt that Aneau had much to do with the preparation of this *entrée*. And it was probably his success on this occasion that induced the Consulate two years later to place him in complete charge of the entrance of the new governor of the Lyonnais, Jacques d'Albon, maréchal de St-André. Excelling in the *pièce de circonstance*, Aneau's poetic talent was peculiarly fitted for such functions. A philosophical poet like Scève, who delighted in obscure symbolism, would hardly be the most happy choice for a like occasion: his elusive verse might baffle the understanding of the ordinary individual. Besides, Aneau was far more in the public eye, as a popularizer naturally would be. Not only as a public servant did he feel obliged to please his fellow-citizens, but the halo of omniscience bestowed upon him by his admirers flattered his innocent vanity and induced him to show his versatility. One is furthermore inclined to feel that Aneau was the guiding spirit of this festival because of the familiarity of some of the details. A certain allegory recalls at once the *Histoire de Androdus* of the *Lyon Marchant*. On his way around the city, the king is led through a small forest. Suddenly a horn is heard; and Diana—a delicate compliment to the famous beauty, Diane de Poitiers—appears, surrounded by beautiful virgins, attired in the most gorgeous costumes. "Et ainsi," writes Scève,

"Et ainsi qu'elles appareurent sa Sacrée Magesté, un Lion sortit du boys, qui se uint getter aux piedz de ladicte Déesse, luy faisant feste. Laquelle, le uoyant ainsi mansuete, doulx, et priué, le print avec un lien noir et blanc, et sur l'heure le presenta au Roy, ainsi pu'il passoit. Et s'approchant avec le Lion humilié iusques sur le bort du mur du préau ioignant le chemin, et à un pas près de sa Magesté luy dict asses haultement:

"La / Magnificence / de la superbe triumpante / Entree de la noble et antique Cité de Lyon fai- / cte au Treschrestien Roy de France / Henry deuxiesme de ce / Nom. / Et à la Roynie Catherine son Espouse le XXIII / de Septembre MDXLVIII // A Lyon Chés Guillaume Rouille à l'Escu de Venise // 1549. / Bibl. nat. L31b14, ff. K vo. and K2 ro.

Le grand plaisir de la chasse usitée,
 Auquel par montz, uallées, et campagnes
 Je m'exercite avecques mes Compaignes,
 Jusqu'en uoz boys, Sire, m'ha incitée,
 Où ce Lion d'amour inusitée
 S'est uenu rendre en ceste nostre bande,
 Lequel soubdain à sa priuaulté grande
 T'ay recongneu, et aux gestes humains,
 Estre tout uostre : aussi entre uoz mains
 Je le remet, et le uous recommande.¹⁴

That Aneau was highly pleased with the figure of the tamed lion is obvious from the fact that he makes use of it again, as we shall see, at the entrance of Jacques d'Albon. It is hardly probable that Scève, who considered himself much superior to a mere versifier, would do Aneau the honor of adopting some of his creations. For these reasons, we feel justified in concluding that Aneau, besides inspiring a great part of this celebration, was in particular the author of the above allegory.

Although Aneau was much occupied at this time with the publication of the translation entitled *Baptiste Platine . . . de l'honnête Volupté*—a work of which we shall speak later—financial difficulties forced him to yield to the request of the Consulate to deliver the annual doctoral oration of St. Thomas. The reason why this honor was bestowed for the third time on the principal of the Collège de la Trinité—for no one in the history of the city had ever been so favored—is carefully explained in the order of the Consulate to the receiver of the *deniers communs* early in the year 1549. This personage is requested to pay

"à Mre. Barthélemy Aneau, principal recteur du Colliege de la Trinité, la somme de troys escuz d'or soleil, vallant six livres quinze solz tourn . . . pour avoir faict et prononcé l'oraison doctoralle le jour et feste St. Thomas dernier . . . Et laquelle somme a esté ordonné luy payer parce qu'il fut prié de la part dud. consulat composer, faire et prononcer lad. oraison led. jour, obstant qu'il ne se

¹⁴ *Ibid.* E. ro. According to M. Baur, this dizain is "très probablement de Maurice Scève, à en juger d'après le style" (p. 97). On the contrary, this seems to resemble the poems of the *Lyon Marchant* and the *Chant nasal* much more than it does the dizains of the *Délie*. In other words, the style is not a safe criterion.

trouva en lad. ville docteur nouvellement venant de l'estude qui se soit voulu charger faire lad. oraison; en ce comprins les xxx s.t. qui ont esté accoustumez estre payez pour lad. cause."¹⁵

If the honor conferred upon Aneau was exceptional, the compensation, which he received on February 1, 1549, was more than exceptional. The Echevins had once or twice before violated the principle of not having the same man deliver the oration more than once, but never before had they deviated from the custom of paying 30 sous to the orator. The next year (1549), although the orator came from a distant city and was obliged obliged to pay his travelling expenses, the Consulate refused to allow him any more than the regular sum.

But notwithstanding this liberality on the part of the Echevins, we find that the college had been entirely neglected during the excitement caused by the arrival of the king. As we have already remarked, the principal found it utterly impossible to keep up the high standard on the salary he received. He was fully aware that his able regents, Fontaine, Wilson (or Volusene) and Milieu, were underpaid, but in spite of all his efforts, he was unable to improve conditions. Finally, he decided to withdraw from the institution, hoping thereby to bring forcibly to the attention of the city government the necessity of an increase of funds.

However this was not the only motive that prompted him to take this step. Jean du Peyrat, who had been lieutenant general of the Lyonnais since 1532, was now in poor health; and his sage counsel could no longer be depended upon to curb the inordinate activity of the Protestants. The situation became all the more strained with the arrival of two well-known Swiss reformers—the one, Guillaume

¹⁵ *Actes consulaires* CC 985 (1548/9). It is worthy of note that the Consulate experienced the same difficulty in 1549. It was found necessary to send to Orleans for a young doctor, Estienne Pasquier by name—not related, as far as I can learn, to the great Estienne Pasquier—to deliver this oration, "parce qu'il n'y avoit docteur en ladictte Ville de Lyon, qui se soyt voullu charger d'icelle orayson." *Arch. com. de Lyon, série* CC 992 (1549-50). Later on, Pasquier became rector of the schools of Rouen. Cf. Péricaud, *Notes et Documents and Du Verdier*. However, in 1553, Pasquier was principal of the college Notre-Dame, "nouvellement établi près de l'église St-Jean" at Lyons. The Echevins sent him that year "la somme de 50 livres pour l'aider à supporter les dépenses de cette institution." *Arch. com. de Lyon, série* BB 75 (1553-54).

Guérout, from Geneva, to become corrector in the print-shop of his brother-in-law, B. Arnoullet, and the other, Théodore Zwingler, from Basel, to occupy a similar position with Godefroy Beringen.¹⁶ All of this only tended to incite the militant Catholics to greater vigilance. The commercial class, which had enjoyed some years of peace and prosperity under the liberal government of Jean d'Albon, were willing to accept the reaction in the hope that the friction would cease. But Aneau, in all probability, feared that, with the disappearance of d'Albon and his able lieutenant du Peyrat, an era of persecution would ensue. Mindful of the fate of his friend Dolet, he did not seek to have the crown of martyrdom thrust upon him. Therefore, he thought it wiser to withdraw somewhat from public view.

And finally, he wished to devote more time to literature. He was now at work on a translation of the Emblems of Alciat, of which the original Latin version was very popular in France. The reformer, Guillaume Guérout, who was preparing *Le Blason des Oiseaux* for Arnoullet, urged Aneau to compose for the same volume the *Décades de la Description des Animaux*.

With these facts in mind, it is not difficult to understand why the principal of the Collège de la Trinité sought to be relieved of his duties. Accordingly, the minutes of the meeting of December 15, 1548, state that,

"Est comparu au présent consulat Mre. Barthélemy Aneau, principal recteur du colliege de la Trinité, lequel a dict et remonstré qu'il y a sept ans passez qu'il fut retenu principal recteur dudict colliege de la Trinité de ceste ville aux gaiges de cent livres tournois pour chacun an, où il a fait son devoir de servir durant le temps de sa retenue qui finist à la feste Saint Jehan Baptiste dernier, auquel temps il auroit remonstré qu'il ne pouvoit entretenir audict colliege luy et ses régents à si petitx gaiges, à ce qu'il plust aud. consulat y pourveoir d'ung autre en son lieu; toutesfoys à la prière et requeste dudict consulat il auroit encores tenu led. colliege et entretenu ses régens despuys ladicte feste Saint Jehan dernier jusques à présent, qui est dymye année, requérant estre payé de sesd. gaiges et de vouloir pourveoir d'ung autre en son lieu parce qu'il ne se peult entretenir avec quatre régens qu'il luy convyent nourrir et entretenir sans avoir plus grandz gaiges que cent livres. Surquoy la matière

¹⁶ Péricaud, *op. cit.*

bien débattue, a esté ordonne payer audict Mrs. Barthélemy Aneau la somme de cinquante livres tournois pour ses gaiges, d'avoir entre-tenu led. colliege et (*sic*) dymye année qui finira à la feste de Noël prochain. Et a esté prié vouloir continuer régir led. colliege jusques à la feste Saint Jehan Baptiste prochain venant aux gaiges accoustumez, qui est cinquante livres tournois pour ladicte demye année selon la forme de sa première retenue. Et dans lad. feste Saint Jehan prochain sera advisé de luy augmenter ses gaiges, ou bien de pourveoir d'ung autre en son lieu; ce que led. Mrs. Barthélemy Aneau a accepté et promys faire son devoir comme il a faict par cy devant, à régir led. colliege jusques à lad. feste Saint Jehan prochain, moyennant led. pris de cinquante livres tournois que lesd. sieurs conseillers luy promectent payer et faire payer des deniers communs de lad. ville à lad. feste Saint Jehan Baptiste prochain, avec promesses, etc."¹⁷

But a principal possessing all the qualifications of Aneau could not be easily found. Of the humanists in Lyons who might be considered for the position, few had the necessary experience. Besides, many were suspected of religious views which would militate at the outset against the institution and its future success. While the Echevins were firm in the belief that a lay college should not insist too much on religion, they did not wish, on the contrary, to be accused of fostering heresy. For that reason, they sought men of sound doctrine. That mass was regularly celebrated in the college seemed to them sufficient: it was unnecessary that religion should be taught. True pedagogical humanism sought merely to overthrow the antiquated methods of scholasticism: it was not concerned with any particular sect. So the real humanists were seeking to disseminate ideas that had little or nothing in common with Calvinism, for the line of demarcation between the Renaissance and the Reform was now distinctly drawn. No more than the Catholics could they endure the obnoxious doctrines emanating from Geneva. That there were amongst them some who could not accept the tenets of either faith, it was useless to deny; but it was no more just to condemn the whole movement on that account than to condemn the Catholic Church because of the fanaticism of the ignorant. It is therefore obvious that the enlightened public, realizing that scholasticism was in general deleterious to mental health, should be inclined to encourage the efforts of these altruistic scholars.

¹⁷ *Acte consulaire du 15 décembre, 1548; Arch. com. BB 68, fo. 283.*

After having sought in vain for a satisfactory principal, the Consulate requested Aneau to continue to direct the college the following school-year. They promised him additional compensation for his services during this period. Aneau consented to remain at the head of the institution until a capable successor might be found, providing the city was willing to recompense him for his losses. This generous offer was at once accepted. Accordingly, on the *pénultième jour d'octobre* 1549, the Echevins ordered the *receveur des deniers* to pay to Aneau,

"la somme de cinquante livres tourn. à luy taxé et ordonné (*sic*) estre payée pour aulcunement le desdommager et recompenser des pertes par luy faictes et soubztenues puy un an et demy en ça que son bail dud. colliege estoit finy et expiré, tant pour l'entretènement dud. colliege que pour la nourriture et gaiges des régentz qu'il luy a convenu tenir aud. colliege pour l'instruction des enfans allans et venans aud. colliege, de quoy faire il auroit esté prié par led. consulat, et de ne sortir dud. colliege jusque à ce qu'il y auroit esté pourveu d'aultre principal aud. colliege cappable, ydoine et souffisant à ce que led. colliege ne demeure despourveu, à la charge de le recompenser des pertes qu'il y feroit, et ce oultre ses gaiges ordinaires qui sont de cent livres par an."¹⁸

However, this munificent sum—the largest ever paid a principal of the college—does not represent entirely the generosity of the Echevins. They gave Aneau the opportunity of increasing his income still more by placing him in charge of the entrance of Jacques d'Albon, the new governor of the Lyonnais.

On December 28th, 1549, occurred the death of Jean d'Albon, father of Jacques, who had succeeded the Cardinal de Tournon in 1542 as governor of this province.¹⁹ During the last years of his administration, Jean d'Albon placed the government of Lyons almost entirely in the hands of his able lieutenant, Jean du Peyrat, whose just and liberal ideas had attracted to the city many famous scholars and printers. Having distinguished himself at the sieges of Fontarabia and St. Quentin, Jean d'Albon was rewarded in 1530 by Francis I. with the titles of *bailli* of Mâcon and *sénéchal* of Lyons. During the succeeding years, the king sought frequently

¹⁸ *Acte cons., série CC* 985.

¹⁹ Péricaud, *op. cit.*; Le Laboureur, *Les Masures de l'Île-Barbe*, publié par M.-C. Guigue, Lyons, 1887, II, pp. 162, etc.

his advice, and, in 1542, elevated him to the charge of governor of the Lyonnais, Bourbonnais, etc. D'Albon was a member of a very old Lyonnese family, and understood the conditions in his native city.²⁰ His government was most successful in establishing and maintaining peace.

But if Jean d'Albon did not incline to religious persecution, his son and successor, Jacques d'Albon, marquis de Fronsac, maréchal de St. André, was a man of very different stamp. Through the influence of his father, he was rapidly advanced at court. After the death of Francis I, he became the favorite of the young king and enjoyed great power. Not devoid of qualities, he commanded the respect of all as a brilliant leader and an intrepid soldier. But unfortunately he was ambitious, and sought in war merely a means of advancing his own interests.

The Lyonnese were very proud of their compatriot; and when he was appointed to succeed his father, they were anxious to receive him with great éclat. Although he was known to be reactionary, they thought that, following his father's example, he would seek above all to promote peace. But soon after his nomination, it was apparent that they were sadly deceived. He proved to be a most unscrupulous and implacable enemy of religious liberty. He took advantage of every occasion to attack the Protestants; and as a depredator, he was without an equal. Fearing reprisals after the death of Henry II, he formed, with the Duc de Guise and the Connétable de Montmorency, the famous Triumvirate, under the pretext of exterminating Protestantism. But it was in vain, for he was finally killed at the battle of Dreux in 1562 by a Catholic whose property he had confiscated.²¹

The Maréchal de St. André was due to make his entrance into Lyons in the latter part of August, 1550. On the 3d of July of that year, the Echevins held a special meeting in which the preparations for this festival were discussed. From the document which follows, we see that the *entrée* was to be very similar to that of the

²⁰ Perneti, *Lyonnais dignes de Mémoire*, 1757, I, p. 368.

²¹ The *Catalogue d'une précieuse collection de lettres autographes* of Charavay contains several letters addressed by the Maréchal de St. André to the Comte Rhingrave from 1555 to 1560. These superb letters corroborate the animosity of his actions.

king—in other words, this was the usual form of the ceremony. Furthermore, here as before, an *arrière-pensée* prompted, to a great extent, the generosity of the Lyonnese: they were seeking to be relieved of certain taxes with which they were burdened. The minutes of the Consulate state that after the usual routine business had been transacted,

"A esté mys en termes la venue de monseigneur le mareschal de Saint André, gouverneur et lieutenant général pour le Roy en la ville et pays de Lyonnays, et de la forme et manière que l'on debvra tenir à icelle entrée. Sur laquelle, après avoir longuement desbatu et délibéré, a esté advisé qu'il sera bon et nécessaire mander à l'hostel commun, monsr. de Servièrès, Jaques Daullon, capitaine des enfans de cheval, et Claude Raverie, dict de Jon, capitaine des enfans de pied, . . . pour de la part dudict consulat eulx tenir prestz avec ceulx qui sont de leurs bandes, pour aller à cheval, avec casaques de livrée, à leur fantasie et discrection, au devant dudict seigr. mareschal de St. André le jour qu'il arrivera en cestedicte ville. Semblablement de mander audict hostel commun les Roys, capitaines, et enseignes des jeux de l'hacquebutte, arbaleste, archiers, avec les capitaines des imprimeurs, tincturiers, tissotiers, bouchers, couturiers, cordoanniers, et les prier de faire ensemblement jusques au nombre de mil ou douze cens hommes, bien ordre et équipez pour aller au devant dudict seigr. gouverneur le jour d'icelle entrée, tous soubz ung capitaine et soubz une enseigne, représentans la force de ladicte ville.

Aussi qu'il sera bon de dresser deux istoyres sur le chaffaulz, qu'on advisera, à l'honneur et louange dudict seigr. St. André; l'une à la porte de Bourneuf, et l'autre au devant l'esglise St. Eloy, avec dictons qui seront dictz et profferez à l'honneur et louange dudict seigr.

Semblablement de faire et dresser ung poille, et le tenir prest pour le présenter et porter sur le dict seigr., s'il luy plaict de l'accepter.

Et quant au présent qu'il conviendra faire audict seigr. gouverneur, à son premier et joueulx advènement en ladicte ville, sera besoing et nécessaire que lesdictz conseilliers advisent de le faire le plus honnorablement qu'il leur sera possible, en esgard à la qualité dudict seigneur, qui est mareschal de France, grandement aymé et favorisé du Roy, par le moyen duquel la ville, et habitans d'icelle, pourra estre grandement relevée et soulagée des grans charges et foule qu'elle a supporté par le passé pour le payement des souldes des gens de guerre demandé par le Roy puys six ans en ça en ladicte ville. Aussy pour obtenir l'ayde et subside de six deniers pour livre sur les denrées et marchandises entrans en ladicte ville, pour payer

et acquitter les grans deniers que ladicte ville doit, et qu'elle tient à change et intérestz, tant pour avoir payé lesdicts souldes que pour les réparations et fortifications faictes en ladicte ville puy six ans en ça. Par quoy, l'on doit adviser, au premier et jouleux advènement dudict seigneur Saint André, de luy faire tel honneur et présent qu'il ait cause se contenter et avoir les affaires de ladicte ville pour l'advenir en bonne et singulière recommandation, tant envers le Roy que nosseigneurs de son conseil.

Sur quoy, a esté ordonné que, mardy prochain, l'on mandera Mre. Barthélemy Aneau, principal du colliege de la Trinité, pour le prier de dresser quelques ystoires et dictons en l'honneur dudict seigr. de St. André pour servir ledict jour de sadicte entrée."²²

His pupils being now on vacation, the principal was able to devote himself entirely to the preparation of the *ystoires et dictons* desired by the Consulate. He first composed the *istoyre d'Androdus, qui premier aprivoysa le Lyon*, of which the main theme is quite similar to that of the aforementioned poem in the *Lyon Marchant*.²³ It was a kind of allegory to be represented upon an *eschaffaud* beneath an *arc triumpfant*. Accordingly, at their meeting on the 17th of July, the Echevins ordered that,

"pour l'entrée de Monsiegr. de Saint-André, prochaine, faire un arc triumpfant à la porte avec l'istoyre d'Androdus, comme l'a composée le principal du colliege de la Trinité, à moins de despens que faire se pourra, et ne faire ledict arc que avec buys et or cliquant. Et quant à l'eschaffault de l'istoyre suyvant l'ordonnance dudict principal, sera fait de tapisserie, le tout à moins des frais et despens que faire se pourra."²⁴

The *eschaffaud*, or platform, was then constructed, and Salomon Bernard was ordered to decorate it with allegorical scenes.²⁵ It was soon learned that the new governor was to be accompanied by four princes, who belonged to the most powerful families in the nation. The Consulate decided at once to make the ceremony far more sumptuous than was intended at first. Aneau was then requested to prepare the other allegory; and this time he selected for his subject the story of the mother of Darius who addressed

²² *Acte consulaire du 3 juillet, 1550; Arch. com. BB 71, fo. 186 vo.*

²³ *ROMANIC REVIEW*, vol. I, p. 286 et seq.

²⁴ *Acte consulaire du 17 juillet, 1550; série BB 71, fo. 196.*

²⁵ *Péridaud, op. cit.; Morin, V, p. 44.*

by mistake Ephestion, the favorite of Alexander the Great, thinking he was the great conqueror. This story was well-known to the contemporaries of Aneau, who therefore had no difficulty in understanding its purport on this occasion. The Echevins were greatly pleased with the allegory; and, at their meeting on August 10, decided that another platform should be raised on which it would be presented. The minutes of the Consulate give a full account of this meeting, together with a very interesting résumé of the composition of Aneau. This curious document is thus conceived:

"Lesdictz seigrs. conseilliers se sont assemblez pour adviser, résordre (*sic*), si l'on fera et dressera deux eschaffaulx avec deux ystoyres pour l'entrée de monseigneur le mareschal de Saint André, gouverneur et lieutenant général pour le Roy en ladicté ville et pays de Lyonnoys, suyvant l'advis de messeigrs. les lieutenant, procureur, et advocat du Roy, qui ont dict et rapporté à partie desdictz seigrs. conseilliers qu'il est besoing et nécessaire pour capter la grace et benyvolence dudict seigr. gouverneur, luy faire le plus d'honneur et le plus grand triumphe à sadicté entrée qu'il sera possible; parce mesme que ledict seigr. gouverneur a escript audict seigr. de Troyes et gens du Roy, qu'il amene avec luy en cestedicté ville quatre jeunes princes, assavoir, monseigr. le duc de Nemours, monseigr. d'Anguyn (*d'Enghien*), monseigr. le prince de La Roche-sur-Yon, monseigr. le mareschal de Cedan (*Sedan*), ausquelz il aura grand plaisir que la ville fasse le plus grand honneur et le plus grand triumphe avec le plus grand pasetemps qu'il sera possible.

Sur quoy, après avoir amplement délibéré par lesdictz seigrs. conseilliers, a esté résolu, conclud, et arrêté que l'on dressera ung eschaffaulx au devant de Saint Eloy, où sera l'istoyre des Festion d'Alexandre le Grand, et de la femme et des deux filles du Roy Daire. Lesquelles femme et filles du Roy Daire, estant prisonnières, se seroient adressées en Phestion pour luy faire la révérence, pensant que ce fut Alexandre. Et estans advrtyes que n'estoit Alexandre, et que Alexandre estoit auprès dudict Emphesion, se veullant excuser envers ledict Alexandre, icelluy Alexandre leur auroit respondu: *Et hic Alexander est*; démontrant que l'honneur qu'elles avoient faict audict Emphesion, il le extime aultant que luy-mesme, pour monstrier et faire apparoir que l'honneur que l'on faict audict seigr. Saint André par ladicté entrée, le Roy l'extimera aultant que si elle avoit esté faict à luy-mesmes, pour l'amytié et faveur qu'il porte audict seigr. de Saint André. Et lequel eschaffaulx et ystoire, a esté ordonné faire dresser, oultre l'eschaffault et

portal, dressé à la porte de Bourneuf, où sera l'istoyre d'Androdus, qui premier aprivoysa le Lyon. Pour lequel eschaffault faire et dresser, a esté donné charge ausdictz Guillaume Henry et Gaspardin Pause, conseilliers."²⁶

The two *istoyres* were quite similar in character to the *Lyon Marchant* and the *Chant Natal*, as one can readily see. This *genre* of literature, created by Aneau, was evidently very pleasing to his fellow-citizens—which explains, to some extent, his great popularity.

The entrance of the Maréchal de St. André took place on the 24th of August, and the festivities continued for several days. Judging from the Consular records, the new governor was greatly pleased with the cordial reception he was given. A certain epigram which without doubt formed a part of the *istoyre d'Androdus*—and which Aneau published in 1552 in the *Picta Poesis*—must have flattered him very much. The poet relates that once a lion, impressed by the great virtue of Hanno, the celebrated general of Carthage, allowed itself to be caressed by him. If this was remarkable, what can be said of a great city, filled with lions in valor and courage, submitting itself humbly to the command of the Maréchal de St. André!

Hanno manu primus fertur tractasse Leonem,
Pœnus, et artificij Dux catus ingenio.
Ast hunc quem penes est, Regis manus atque potestas
Quam mirabilius posse Leontopolim,
Posse Leontopolim Lugdi moderarier urbem.
Quæ nomen, κελῶν voce, Leonis habet.²⁷

Whatever may have been the opinion of the Maréchal de St. André, the Echevins were well satisfied with the efforts of Aneau. This is obvious from the generous manner in which he was rewarded. Among the various payments made on the 2d of September, 1550, we note an order to the *receveur des deniers* to allow Aneau the sum of "six escuz d'or au soleil." This amount was paid to him for "plusieurs vacations par luy faictes, tant à dresser

²⁶ *Acte consulaire du 10 août, 1550; Arch. com. BB 71, fo. 200 vo.*

²⁷ Le Laboureur, *op. cit.*, p. 177. For this story cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VIII, 21. Aneau has another epigram in the *Imagination poétique* (1552, p. 15) entitled: *Sur la magnifique entrée de Monseigneur de S. André, gouverneur de Lyon.*

et inventer les ystoires que à faire les dictons qui ont esté jouez le jour de l'entrée dudict seigr. gouverneur."²⁸

After the excitement aroused by the *entrée* had died away, Aneau sought to interest the Consulate in the future of the Collège de la Trinité. But all to no avail. Their liberality in return for his compositions permitted him to tide over the year. Furthermore, the financial question no longer troubled him so much personally, for it was probably during this period that he married. His wife was Claudine Dumas, who had inherited a small fortune from her grandfather, Claude Dumas *dit le More*, a well-to-do *marchand bastier* of Lyons. It is quite possible that Claudine came into possession of a house and several other buildings owned by her grandfather.²⁹ Aneau was therefore in fairly comfortable circumstances, and no longer felt obliged to teach in order to earn his living.

But marriage imposed other responsibilities. For the sake of his wife, if not for himself, he could no longer afford to incur danger. And since Jacques d'Albon's accession to the government of the city, the attitude of the militant catholics had become more threatening. Notwithstanding the careful reserve of the principal in regard to the new ideas, the professors of the college were known to be more or less in sympathy with the Reform.³⁰ More than ten years before, Protestantism was making such rapid strides in the Dauphiné that, on December 2, 1541, Francis I issued an edict forbidding any book to be published at Lyons without the permission of the *grand scel*—an order, however, that was not followed out. Yet since the death of Dolet, the auto-da-fé was becoming uncomfortably common. In 1548, the curate of St. Jean-le-Petit was burned alive, because he did not consecrate the sacred host when saying mass "pour faire damner ses paroissiens," against whom he brought suit in the courts.³¹ Finally, the burning of Claude Monier on October 31, 1551, caused Aneau to realize the proximity of danger. The publication of the *Quintil Horatian* had besides made his

²⁸ *Actes cons.*, série BB 71, fo. 214 vo. Salomon Bernard, who painted the *eschaffaulx*, was allowed 90 livres. Cf. Morin, V, 44, and Péricaud, *loc. cit.*

²⁹ See the article of Cochard in Bregnot du Lut's *Mélanges*, p. 201.

³⁰ Cf. Cochard, *Notice sur Hippolyte d'Este*, *Revue du Lyonnais*, XXXI (1865), p. 11.

³¹ Péricaud, *Notes et Documents*, *loc. cit.*

position difficult. While it was not known that he was the author of it, yet it was evident that the work emanated from the Collège de la Trinité. This undesirable notoriety had alienated the sympathies of those who shared the views of the young members of the Pléiade.

Such a condition of affairs naturally induced Aneau to withdraw at once from the college and to devote himself entirely to literary work, consisting mainly of translations of texts suitable for the class-room. When he first signified his intention, the Echevins refused to listen to him. Without further hesitation, he vacated the college in November, 1551. Even then, the Echevins refused to take any action on his resignation; and it was only when some citizens remonstrated with them on December 15, that they decided to consider the election of a successor. The minutes of this meeting state that,

"Sont venuz au présent consulat Monsr. Mre. Barthélemy Dargenton, Jehan Camuz, secrétaire du Roy, Jehan Paffy dict Bello, Philippes Galland, Nycolas Decastellas et François Rezinant, qui ont dict et remonstré ausd. sieurs conseillers et consulat, qu'ilz ont estez adverty que Mre. Barthélemy Aneau, principal recteur du colliege de la Trinité de ceste ville, veult laisser et habandonner led. colliege, en l'absence duquel led. colliege venant à vacquer, ont prié et requis lesd. sieurs conseillers et consulat vouloir mectre aud. colliege, au lieu dud. Mre. Barthélemy Aneau, Mre. Jaques Frachet, natif de Molins en Bourbonnoys, comme capable, souffisant, et ydoine en icelle charge, de la souffisance et expérience duquel ilz sont deurement advertiz et certiffiez, parce que icelluy Frachet, puyz troys ans en ça, a instruit et gouverné leurs enfans en ung escolle particulière qu'il avoit levé sur les fossez de la Lanterne, dont il a très bien faict son devoir. Et pour ce ont certiffié la preudhomye, probité, expérience et bonne dilligence esd. sieurs conseillers et consulat. Surquoy après avoir amplement délibéré par lesd. sieurs conseillers et consulat, a esté ordonné que l'on s'enquerra si led. Mre. Barthélemy Aneau est délibéré délaisser et habandonner led. colliege. Et cas advenant qu'il ne le veulle plus tenir, l'on pourvoyra et connectra en son lieu led. Mre. Jaques Frachet, ce qui a esté déclaré ausd. comparans."³²

But Aneau refused to return to the college. So it was decided to pass a lease in favor of Jacques Frachet, who apparently fulfilled

³² *Acte consulaire du 15 décembre, 1551, série BB 72, fo. 176.*

all the necessary conditions. We find therefore the following resolution in the Consular Records of December 31, 1551:

"Sont venuz au consulat hon. homme Phillippes Galand et Mrs. Jaques Frachet, qui ont requis vouloir passer le bail du colliege de la Trinité, suyvant ce qui dernièrement fut accordé et ordonné, aud. Frachet. Et pour ce qu'il y a Mrs. Barthélemy Aneau, qui à présent est aud. colliege, vuide de ses meubles d'icelluy, où il pourra desmolir et emporter plusieurs réparacions nécessaires qu'il a faict faire aud. colliege, comme les comptoirs, chieres des classes, verrières des chambres et plusieurs aultres utencilz nécessaires et très utiles aud. colliege, ont requis commectre quelques ungs d'entre lesd. conseilurs pour les veoir et visiter, les acheter dud. Mrs. Barthélemy Aneau, et le remectre par inventaire aud. Frachet qui s'obligera les rendre et restituer en fin de son bail en l'estat, forme, qualité, qu'ilz luy auront estez remys. Surquoy ont estez commis lesd. Pierre Sève, Guillaume François, Claude Platet, et Claude Benoist, conseilurs, et Mrs. Gabriel de Ruffy, contrerolleur, et Humbert Gimbre, voyeur de lad. ville, pour veoir et visiter lesd. réparacions, meubles et utencilz nécessaires aud. colliege, appartenans aud. Mrs. Barthélemy Aneau, pour d'icelles en convenir et accorder avec led. Aneau, comme ilz verront estre à faire; aussi pour passer le bail dud. colliege aud. Frachet, à semblables paches, qualitez et conditions que led. Mrs. Barthélemy Aneau l'a tenu par cy-devant desd. sieurs conseilurs, et autrement comme ilz verront estre à faire en leurs loyaultz consciences. Et lequel Frachet s'obligera aud. consulat rendre et restituer lesd. meubles, utencilz et réparacions en l'estat et qualité qu'ilz luy auront estez remys."³³

Frachet, as we shall see, was far inferior to his predecessor, both as scholar and teacher. Not understanding conditions thoroughly, he found himself at once on bad terms with his regents. Besides he was a poor administrator, with the necessary consequence that the college was soon involved in financial difficulties. Add to this the fact that Aneau's popularity militated greatly against him; and we can understand why his administration was, at the outset, doomed to failure. His weak effort as principal, contrasting most violently with the great success of Aneau, made the Echevins aware that they had lost the services of a very exceptional teacher. After Frachet's departure, an equally unfortunate experience with Jacques Dupuy impressed upon all the necessity of recalling Aneau.

³³ *Acte consulaire du 31 décembre, 1551, série BB 172, fo. 182.*

But, as we have already noted, the literary work of Aneau is so closely connected with his life that it will be impossible for us to understand his position in the city during his retirement from active service until we have obtained a comprehensive view of his literary output during the few years immediately preceding his separation from the college.

(To be continued)

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THE BRAGGART SOLDIER AND THE RUFIAN IN THE SPANISH DRAMA OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

THE braggart soldier has been a favorite character of comedy since early times. Livius Andronicus is said to have first introduced him on the Roman stage, and by the time of Plautus and Terence, the figure had become more or less stereotyped. He appears in six plays by Plautus, and has the principal role in *Miles Gloriosus*. A brief analysis of the character of Pyrgopolinices, the Miles Gloriosus in Plautus' play of that name, will serve to show the chief characteristics of the type.¹

He boasts of extraordinary deeds and accepts as a matter of course the fawning flattery of Artotrogus, his parasite. The latter, however, knows that the soldier is a liar and a braggart. Pyrgopolinices wishes to console his sword by making havoc among the enemy, ll. 5-8:

"Nam ego hanc machaeram mihi consolari uolo,
Ne lamentetur neue animum despondeat,
Quia se iam pridem feriatam gestitem,
Quae misera gestit fartum facere ex hostibus."

Artotrogus says that Mars would not dare to style himself so great a warrior, ll. 11-12:

"Tam bellatorem Mars se haud ausit dicere
Neque aequiperare suas uirtutis ad tuas."

According to his parasite, the Captain had puffed away with his breath the legions of Mars, ll. 16-18:

"Memini: nempe illum dicis cum armis aureis,
Quoius tu legiones difflauisti spiritu,
Quasi uentus folia aut paniculum tectorium."

¹ For a general treatment of the influence of the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus upon European literature, see Reinhardstoettner, *Plautus. Spätere Bearbeitungen plautinischer Lustspiele*. For this character in the French drama, see O. Fest, *Der Miles Gloriosus in der Französischen Komödie von Beginn der Renaissance bis zu Molière, 1897*.

Pyrgopolinices replies, l. 19:

"Istuc quidem edepol nihil est."

The parasite says aside that the Captain is a liar and a boaster, ll. 21-23:

"Periuriorem hoc hominem si quis uiderit
Aut gloriarum pleniorum quam illic est,
Me sibi habeto, egomet ei me mancupio dabo."

Artotrogus tells how the Captain had broken the fore-leg of an elephant with his fist, and Pyrgopolinices replies that he had struck the blow without any effort, ll. 25-30.

The Captain asks what other great deeds he had performed, and Artotrogus replies, "in Cilicia there were a hundred and fifty men, a hundred in Scytholatronia, thirty at Sardis, sixty men of Macedon whom you slaughtered altogether in one day." Pyrgopolinices asks what was the total number, and the parasite replies, "seven thousand," ll. 38-42.

The names given to the Captain and his enemies are extravagant and bombastic. When Artotrogus says that Mars was not so great a warrior, the braggart replies, ll. 13-15:

"Quemne ego seruauit in campis Curculionis,
Vbi Bumbomachides Clutomestoridysarchides
Erat imperator summus, Neptuni nepos?"

Artotrogus says that the Captain is loved by all women. One admired his beauty, another his long hair, and Pyrgopolinices replies complacently that it is very annoying to be so handsome. l. 64:

"Nimiast miseria nimis pulcrum esse hominem."

He declares that he is "*nepos Veneris*, l. 1265.

The *Eunuchus* of Terence followed the *Miles Gloriosus* by about twenty years. Thraso in this play is a braggart soldier, but his appearance is only episodic, and the figure is not so fully developed as in Plautus. He is represented as a man of some wealth, and is ready to swear vengeance on his enemies, but prudently follows the method of Pyrrhus when in danger, and posts himself in the safest place, ll. 781-83:

Thraso. "tu hosce instrue: ego ero post principia: inde omnibus signum dabo."

Gnatho. "illuc est sapere: ut hosce instruxit, ipse sibi cavit loco."

Thraso. "idem hoc iam Pyrrus factitavit."

The chief characteristics of the Roman braggart soldier may be summed up as follows. He boasts of extraordinary deeds, brags of his battles and heaps of victims, but is prudent in danger and is a target for jokes. His true character of coward is always revealed. He is convinced of his attraction for women.

The braggart soldier was a favorite character in the Italian *commedia dell'arte*. Out of fifty pieces included in the *Teatro delle Fauole rappresentative della Scala*, the Captain is found in all but six. He also appears in the *Farsa satyra morale* of Venturino Venturini di Pesaro² in 1521 and attained great popularity throughout the sixteenth century under the names of Spavento, Cocodrillo, Capitano Rinoceronte and Matamoros. Frequently he was represented as a Spaniard, and in this way the Italians tried to avenge their defeats in war by ridiculing their conquerors.

Although the Italian Captain owes something to classical models, there is good ground to believe that this figure was derived from the popular improvised drama rather than from direct imitation of Plautus and Terence. De Amicis describes thus the conditions in Italy which gave rise to the braggart soldier:

"Nell'Italia del 500 . . . ogni virtù militare era spenta: le armi erano in mano di genti mercenarie, di compagnie di ventura, e l'istituzione di queste compagnie aveva rese le guerre simili a quelle che veggonsi sul palco scenico d'un teatro. Grandi eserciti combattevano dal sorgere sino al tramontare del sole; si avea una gran vittoria, si prendevano migliaia di prigionieri, ma nessun morto rimaneva sul terreno. Il coraggio perciò non era necessario per un soldato; v'erano degli uomini invecchiati sui campi di battaglia, e che aveano acquistato rinomanza per le loro opere guerresche, senza essersi mai trovati in faccia ad un serio pericolo. Il Machiavelli assai bene descrisse questi Rodomonti nel proemio dell'Arte della Guerra."³

Since this figure of the Captain was so popular in Italy, it is

² Stoppato, *La Commedia popolare in Italia*, Padova, 1887, pp. 193-217.

³ Vincenzo de Amicis, *L'imitazione latina nella commedia italiana del XVI secolo*, Firenze, 1897, p. 145.

but natural that we should look for some influence of the Italian drama in the formation of this character in Spain. The evidence, however, is negative. It is true that a certain Muzio⁴ visited Seville as early as 1538 with a company of Italian players, but we know nothing of his repertory. At all events, the type of bragging soldier had appeared in the *Farsa Teologal* by Diego Sánchez de Badajoz before the visit of Muzio. When Ganassa visited Seville with his company in 1575, the braggart soldier was already a stock figure in the Spanish comedies.

We may admit the influence of the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus, and the interest in Italian plays may have contributed to the popularity of the braggart soldier in Spain, but these influences should not be overestimated. The Spanish people did not hesitate in its choice between the servile imitation of classic models and a realistic representation of the types of every day life. It is true that an anonymous Spanish translation of the *Miles Gloriosus* appeared at Antwerp in 1555, but it seems to have had little influence on the formation of the type of the braggart soldier. It is significant that the character appears in the plays which seem most closely related to ordinary life, and is not found in the works of those who tried to introduce the taste for classical models. If the braggart soldier had not been a familiar figure in Spanish life of the sixteenth century, he would not have been tolerated on the stage. It is true that the braggart of the Spanish drama resembles the *capitano* of the Italians, but there is one essential difference. The Italian Captain was usually a foreigner, (Spaniard). By ridiculing his cowardice, they were avenged for his victories. He represented the conquering Spaniard abroad. On the Spanish stage, he was the soldier who had served abroad, and returned to his native land to lord it over the peaceful citizens who had stayed at home. After his military service, he was unable to work for his living, and for lack of money, was forced to live by his wits. A bragging soldier is not essentially either a Roman or Italian type, and the charm which the soldier has in feminine eyes is so universal that we need not seek the origin of this characteristic in Plautus or the *commedia dell'arte*.

In the *Farsa ó cuasi Comedia* of Lucas Fernández,⁵ written

⁴ H. A. Rennert, *The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega*, p. 21.

⁵ *Farsas y églogas fechas por Lucas Fernández*. Ed. by Manuel Cañete, 1867, pp. 85-135.

between 1505-1508, we get a good idea how the soldier who served under the banner of the Catholic kings was regarded by the man who leads a peaceful life. Soldado quarrels with a shepherd, Pascual, who attacks the profession of soldier. Soldado threatens to punish him, pp. 109-110:

"¡Juro á tal, si te arrebató,
Que te vuelva del revés!
.
.
.
Pues dart' he una bofetada
Que scupas diez años muelas."

Pascual says sneeringly, p. 111:

"Vos habreis matado ciento."

Soldado. "Son tantos, que no ay cuento."

Pascual. "Quizás que ño fuesen piojos."

Soldado. "Ya me hueles á defunto;
Bien barrunto
Tu morir sin confesion."

Pascual. "Doy al Diabro el panfarron."

Soldado. "¡Oh mal grado! ¡Oh despecho!
¡Oh, derreniego y no creo!
¡Hago bascas y pateo!
¡Oh mal villano contrecho!"

Finally, Prábos, another shepherd, succeeds in reconciling them. Here the soldier is not the aggressor, and although he boasts of his deeds, there is none of the extravagance which we find in later plays.

In the *Comedia Soldadesca* by Torres Naharro, we have an interesting picture of the Spanish soldier in Italy. Guzmán does not hesitate to boast of his exploits, but although there may be some exaggeration in his statements, he is not proved a coward. Menéndez y Pelayo writes of this character:⁶

"Para explicarnos la creación de esta figura, que es cómica pero no burlesca, no hay que remontarse al Pyrgopolinices de Plauto; ni mucho menos pensar en el capitán Matamoros ó Spavento de la

⁶ *Propaladia de Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*, 1900, vol. II, p. CXII.

farsa italiana, el cual no había nacido todavía. . . . Guzmán, aunque con puntas y collares rufianescos, y sin pizca de vergüenza en lo que no toca á su oficio de las armas, no es ningún valentón grotesco, sino un soldado de verdad, curtido en campañas sangrientas."

The Soldado furnishes the chief comic element in the *Farsa Teologal* by Diego Sánchez de Badajoz.⁷ With his blustering threats and bragging account of his bravery, he resembles the Miles of Plautus. He enters *muy feroz*, followed by a weeping negress. When she is slow in replying to his questions, he exclaims, p. 113:

"¿Villanos han de bullir
Con cosas de mi persona?
Siendo de sangre real
Y habiendo hecho hazañas,
Que en Italia y las Españas
Jamás se me halla igual,
¿Quién nunca pensara tal,
Que de burla ni de veras
Conmigo partieran peras
El grande ni el comunal?
¿Qué es de mi esfuerzo pujante,
Despecho de los venablos?
Tiemblan de mí los diablos
Desde Poniente á Levante,
¡Y hallo ya quien me espante!
Presto me harán sonajas,
Si no hago mil migajas
A cuantos halle delante.
Yo con mi espada nombrada,
Venga si quisier el resto."

Suddenly he perceives something which makes him forget his past exploits. It is a pitcher tied to a shepherd's crook, within which is a lighted candle, and in front of the mouth is a black paper with eyes and a mouth. Thoroughly frightened at this uncanny figure, he exclaims, p. 114:

"¡Oh Dios! ¿qué es esto? ¿qué es esto?
¡Voto á diez, que fué celada!

⁷ *Recopilación en metro*, pub. in *Libros de Antaño*, vol. XI.

¡Oh! que no os he hecho nada.
 No señor, no me mateis.
 Tomá; mi capa quereis?
 Tomá el broquel y el espada.
 ¡Oh! que no hice por qué.
 ¿No esperaréis la respuesta?
 No se suelte la ballesta,
 Tené la frecha, tené.
 ¡Triste de mí! ¿qué haré?
 ¿Por qué me quereis matar?"

In his terror he begins to confess the many sins which he had committed, and when the device falls, the Soldado tumbles beside it in a swoon. The Pastor then enters, and exclaims:

"¿Si se fué ya el fanfarron?
 ¡Dios me valga! ¿y et aquél
 Tendido par del pichel?"

The Soldado calls out in his fear, p. 116:

"¿qué haré?
 ¿Está ahí? ¿está ahí?"

The Pastor tries to reassure him, but the Soldado replies:

"¡Oh que pensé de morir!
 Cierto, moriré de espanto.
 Así Dios te haga santo,
 Que tú me llames al cura."

The Soldado determines to become a good Christian, but in order to conceal the cause of his fright, he tells the Cura that he has a severe tooth-ache. The Cura soon returns with a dentist who extracts a tooth, amid cries of pain from the Soldado:

"¡Oh que me ha saltado el ojo!"
Maestro. "Voto á diez, cáta la acá."
Soldado. "¡Oh mezquina de mi vida!
 Noramala, que no es ésa."

The dentist is not satisfied until he has pulled several others, and then departs, promising to send his bill the next day. After he has left, the Soldado confesses the real cause of his fright to the Cura who promises to keep the secret.

This play gives a good idea how the braggart soldier was used for comic effect in the religious plays. He is a coward who boasts of his family and valor, and the comic element lies in the fact that he proves to be just the opposite of what he claims.

A bragging bully, Fierotrasso, plays an important part in the *Farsa llamada Ardamisa* by Diego de Negueruela.⁸ The braggart enters, *haziendo fieros*, and saves Ardamisa from the importunities of the Portuguese. He then begins to court the lady himself, swearing that for her love, he would perform great deeds, l. 568 ff.:

"O! si yo por tus amores
me combatiesse con quatro
todos juntos!
Juro a los quatro puntos
de las cartas y su juego,
a todos con los defuntos
te los embiasse luego."

He boasts of his famous exploits, ll. 580-604:

"O mi espada!
si lengua te fuesse dada,
como darias fama eterna
de la gran honra ganada
del braço que te gouierna!
O broquel!
compañero muy fiel
deste que te fauorece,
lançando la sangre y hiel
por quien veo que lo merece!
Las hazañas
y marauillas estrañas
de mis fuerças indomestas,
a las brutas alimañas
aun les son ya manifestas.
Si mandays,
porque mas me conozcays,
si mi nombre hos he celado
yo quiero que lo sepays,
que por nombre soy llamado

⁸ Ed. by M. Léo Rouanet, Madrid, 1900.

Fierotrasso,
 aquel es que a todo passo
 haze los hombres pedaços,
 el que por montes y rasos
 haze carne con sus braços."

Ardamisa rejects his offers of love and protection, and in his anger, he is about to kill the lady when her lover, Gualirano, enters who roundly abuses the braggart for his violence. Fierotrasso is undaunted, however, ll. 695-97:

" Vos pensays
 que, por brauo que vengays,
 me hareys mostrar temor?"

But at the first hostile move of Gualirano, the braggart falls to the ground and begins to repeat the Credo, feeling that Death is at hand, ll. 701-2:

" Ay, ay, ay! que soy muerto!
 Credo in *Déum*, valame Dios!"

However, as soon as the danger is past, he threatens to avenge himself on his enemy, ll. 1235-6:

" Plegue a Dios que yo le cace,
 Que bien me veria con el."

And again, ll. 1240-41:

" Vamos, y embiemosle a cena
 con el sancto Lucifer."

The braggart soldier, Olivenza, plays an important part in the *Comedia Pródiga* by Luis de Miranda.⁹ Pródigo has carried off the girl Sirguera, and Olivenza, her lover, swears to be avenged. Like the Miles of Plautus, he swears extravagant oaths, p. 48:

" Reniego del gran Soldan,
 Si rastro hallo de aquella!"

He tells of his invincible valor, p. 49:

⁹ Date of earliest known edition is 1554. Republished by the *Sociedad de Bibliófilos andaluces*, Sevilla, 1868. References are to this edition.

"Ya me comienzo á turbar,
Que todo el género humano
No podrá tener mi mano
Sin dejallos de matar.
Que, ¿quién me bastó á enojar
Que de mi furor se fuese,
Ni que esconder se pudiese
Si fuese dentro, en la mar?
¿Contra mí, qué gente armada
Contrastó con fuerza alguna,
Que aun la que llaman fortuna
Se halla de mí pisada?
¿Dónde fué guerra trabada
Que los mas yo no matase?
Que si desto te contase
Te quedarias helada."

Olivenza laments that lack of warfare is responsible for his wretched condition, p. 53:

"Reniego de la Turquía,
Y de su poder y tierra,
Por que no hace tal guerra
Que nos hundamos un día.
Que Dios nos ayudaria
En virtud de nuestro rey,
Como vimos por su ley
Que nos ayudó en Hungria.
Y no yo por mi pecado,
Que por sueldo me faltar
Ando así por no hurtar,
Desta suerte avergonzado."

Olivenza, with the aid of his two friends, Silvan and Orisento, determine to attack Pródigo, rob him and rescue Sirguera. Olivenza approves of the plan, but like Terence's Thraso, prefers to keep in the background, p. 56:

"Dese modo aquí detrás
Me pongo porque quereis."

As soon as the bullies have accomplished their purpose, Olivenza cries:

"Sus de aquí, que hay giteria,
No nos coja el aguacil."

The character of Olivenza unquestionably shows the influence of the *Celestina*, but inasmuch as the *rufián* carries on the love intrigue in his own behalf, and not in the service of another, the play is mentioned here rather than among the more direct imitations of the *Celestina*. For the same reason, the *rufián*, Pandulfo, in the *Farsa llamada Cornelia*¹⁰ by Andrés Prado, may be included in this group. He boasts of his bravery, but the character has little individuality.

In the *entremés* entitled *Golondrino y Calandria*,¹¹ the *rufián* boasts of his exploits, and when his friend Zaballos timidly assents to all that he says, Golondrino continues: "Pues crealo, y si no, busque el tratadillo de mis cosas donde hallara proezas hechas por estas manos que no las hizieron los doze pares de Francia y los Greçianos en Greçia."

In this play, Golondrino boasts of his valor, but he differs from the conventional type, inasmuch as his courage is not put to the test.

In *Las Cortes de la Muerte*¹² by Micael de Caravajal and Luis Hurtado de Toledo, we see that the braggart soldier was also used in the morality plays. The representatives of the various estates are summoned before Muerte. The *rufián*, Durandarte, threatens Beatriz, *mujer mundana*, and asks her where she is going. She, however, is not afraid of his rodomontades, and says aside, p. 24:

"¡Cómo parla la gallina!
Y despues serán piojos."

She finally tells him that she has been summoned by Muerte, and does not know whether her defence will be heard. Durandarte replies, p. 25:

"Pues yo me quiero ir contigo;
Y si tarda en despacharte,
Yo te le daré un castigo."

¹⁰ Pub. by Pérez Pastor in *La Imprenta en Medina del Campo*, p. 330 ff. It was printed at Medina del Campo in 1603, but there was probably an earlier edition in the first half of the sixteenth century.

¹¹ Ed. by G. L. Lincoln, *Romanic Review*, vol. I, pp. 41-49.

¹² Republished in the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, vol. 35, 1-41.

Beatriz asks him if he has the courage to face Death, and he exclaims:

“¿Y es mucho por complacerte
Poner las manos en ella?
No te pienses que me duermo;
Que aunque fuese al Taborlán
Y al diablo de Palermo,
¡Voto á tal! en este yermo
Los acometa, si están.
Hora que ando escarnizado
Y bañado en sangre humana,
¿Qué me resta, ni ha restado,
Sino seguir tras el hado,
Pues tan próspero es, hermana?
Mas ya sé que holgará
La Muerte de obedescer
Tu mandado, y le hará;
Mayormente si sabrá
Que me hace á mí placer.
Y si no todo será,
Si della no te recelas,
Llevarme contigo allá;
Y de un tajo allí do está
Le derribaré las muelas.”

Another *rufián*, Pie de Hierro, enters who disputes with Durandarte for the possession of Beatriz. Finally they come to blows, and during the affray, Beatriz escapes and appears before Muerte.

In this play, the braggart is even ready to defy Death, but although his cowardice is inferred, his courage is not put to the test. He does not appear as a soldier, and shows the influence of the *Celestina*.

In *Los Desposorios de Cristo* by Juan de Timoneda,¹³ a Soldado appears who comes to an evil end because of his bragging. The play is based on the parable of the marriage of the King's son, found in Matthew, chap. XXII. The Soldado accepts the summons to the marriage feast, but neglects to provide himself with a

¹³ Published in 1575. Republished in the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, vol. 58, pp. 104-112.

wedding garment, relying on the deeds of valor which he has performed, p. 108:

“¡Cuán provechoso pregon
Es este que han pregonado,
Que diz qu'el Rey ha mandado
Que á todos den refeccion
En las bodas que ha ordenado!”

He threatens that they will have to deal with him if he is not given the choicest delicacies:

“¡Por las áspidas malinas
Y el soberbioso Pluton,
Que si no dan buen capon,
Pavos, perdices, gallinas,
Que hemos de tener quistion!”

He then relates some of his exploits, and defies them to refuse him admittance:

“Y más á un fuerte guerrero
Que ha obrado hechos nombrados,
Donde los más esforzados,
Temiendo mi brazo fiero,
Temblaban como azogados.
Pues en eso de Granada,
¿Quién contará las hazañas
Que hice con esta espada
Entre la gente malvada,
Hasta abrirles las entrañas?
¡Hora, sú! no hay que poner
Excusa en este convite,
En darme bien á comer:
¿Quién lo querrá defender,
Que la vida no le quite?
No porque esté mal vestido
Sin ropa y desta manera,
Me han d'echar la puerta afuera,
Que en la guerra lo he rompido;
Defendiendo una frontera.
Es mi nombre Pimentel,
Don Joan Menezes del Canto:

Fuí alférez en Argel,
En Italia coronel,
Y capitan en Lepanto.
Muy bueno será llegar
A ponerme en buen asiento:
Y del vino y del manjar
Me den: si no, haré temblar
La tierra y el firmamento."

The King notices the wretched clothing of the Soldado, and orders Satan and Lucifer to carry the unlucky braggart to Hell. In this play, the emphasis is laid on the soldier's boasting air, rather than on his cowardice.

In the braggart types that have been examined, it is usually a soldier who boasts of his deeds, and in the majority of cases, his cowardice is proved. All of these figures, although the outcome of conditions in Spain in the sixteenth century, are indirectly related to the Miles of Plautus and the Italian *Capitano*. In the second group of plays which I shall examine, the influence of the *Celestina* is evident, and the braggart is a servant who frequently aids his master in his love intrigues. This feature was original with Spain, and is of especial interest as it furnished certain elements in the creation of the *gracioso*.

The *rufián*, or bully, appears for the first time in Spanish literature in the version of the *Celestina* which was published at Seville in 1502 with the title *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*. Besides other additions, this version contains twenty-one acts in place of the original sixteen. In Actos Quinceno and Decimoctavo, we meet the *rufián* Centurio, "qui est la figure la plus curieuse des cinq actes ajoutés, moins en soi que parce qu'elle est le prototype de ce capitaine espagnol qui, pendant un siècle et demi, paraîtra sur maint théâtre d'Italie ou d'Espagne."¹⁴ Although, strictly speaking, the *Celestina* is not a drama, the character of the bully which is found here had so great an influence on the subsequent development of the type that it must be included in this study.

In Plautus and Terence, the Miles had considerable wealth: in the *Miles Gloriosus* he is credited with possessing mountains of

¹⁴ Foulché-Delbosc, *Revue Hispanique*, vol. VII, p. 56.

silver higher than Etna, (l. 1065). The soldier and *rufán* of the Spanish plays was always poor. In act XVIII of the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, Areusa and Elicia ask Centurio to avenge upon Calisto and Melibea the deaths of Parmeno and Sempronio, and he replies that he will perform the mightiest deeds of arms for them, but can not give them money. "Las alhajas que tengo es el ajuar de la frontera, un jarro desbocado, un asador sin punta; la cama en que me echo está armada sobre aros de broqueles, un rimero de malla rota por colchones, una talega de dados por almohada, que aunque quiera dar colacion, no tengo que empeñar, sino esta capa arpada que traigo acuestas."

He is on intimate terms with the procuress Areusa, boasts to her of his bravery, and pours forth a stream of gasconades when she casts some doubt on his valor:

"Si mi espada dijese lo que hace, tiempo le faltaria para hablar. ¿Quién sino ésta puebla los mas cimiterios? quién hace ricos los cirujanos desta tierra? quién da de continuo que hacer á los armeros? quién destroza la malla muy fina? quién hace riza de los broqueles de Barcelona? . . . Veinte años ha que me da de comer; por ella soy temido de hombres y querido de mujeres, sino de tí; por ella le dieron Centurio por nombre á mi abuelo, y Centurio se llamó mi padre, y Centurio me llamo yo."

He adds that he wishes to please her in every way, and begs her to suggest the sort of death Calisto shall die:

" . . . allí te mostraré un reportorio en que hay setecientas y setenta especies de muertes: verás cuál mas te agradare." Elicia is frightened and fears for the consequences, but the braggart continues: "Las que agora estos dias yo uso y mas traigo entre manos, son espaldarazos sin sangre; ó porradas de pomo de espada, ó revés mañoso: á otros agujero como arnero á puñaladas, tajo largo, estocada temerosa, tiro mortal. Algun dia doy palos por dejar holgar mi espada."

No sooner is he alone than he realizes the danger of his rash promise, and determines to entrust the affair to Traso el Cojo and his companions.

Still another act, the twenty-second, was added in the version of the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* which appeared in three

editions, Toledo 1526, Medina del Campo 1530? and Toledo 1538.¹⁵ In this new Act, the *rufián*, Traso, appears, but the character is not developed and lacks interest. The name is perhaps a reminiscence of Thraso of Terence.

Sancho Muñon, the author of the *Tragicomedia de Lisandro y Roselia*,¹⁶ published in 1542, made certain important additions to the figure of the *rufián*. By entering the service of Lisandro and aiding the latter's designs to win the love of Roselia, he becomes an integral part of the intrigue. Like Centurio in the *Celestina*, he boasts of his exploits, but there is an added comic element, for he proves to be a coward when he is in the very midst of his boasting.

In this play, the rufian is Brumandilon. He threatens to kill the procuress Elicia if she refuses to share her profits with him, and tells how he had drawn his sword in defense of her honor, p. 59:

"Anteayer por salvar tu fama perdiera mi vida por confiar mucho en la virtud de mi espada, que, como toro agarrochado en el Coso, me vi entre siete que en tí pusieron lengua: sino, mira mi capa arpada y el broquel con trecentas picaduras, pero todavía mi blanca espada hizo lugar, los cuatro se me escaparon por piés, á los tres dexo descalabrados: al uno de ellos si no traxera caxquete de Calatayud, con el poderío del golpe le hendiera la cabeza fasta los hombros, pero no sino fasta la piamater."

In the midst of his boasting, Elicia cries, p. 61: "Pasos oigo, acá suben, no sé quién es: ó amigo, ó enemigo, ó mal criado es, pues sube sin llamar." Brumandilon replies: "¡Oh, por Dios, que lo segundo es; méteme en la camarilla de las hierbas, cierra, cierra presto con llave por defuera!" At the suggestion of Elicia, the visitor imitates the voice of a squire with whom Brumandilon had quarreled: the *rufián* is panic-stricken and finally comes out of his hiding place, crying: "Ya, ya, no espero más vivir. Señor, perdona mis pecados. ¡Santo Dios! ya abre; Credo." The bully then offers a very lame excuse for his cowardice.

He offers his service to the lover Lisandro, and relates some of his deeds, p. 65: ". . . juro á la serpentina vara de Aron y

¹⁵ This addition, called the *auto de Traso*, may be read in the *Catálogo de Salvá*, vol. I, pp. 397-99.

¹⁶ Republished at Madrid in 1872. *Colección de libros raros ó curiosos*, vol. III. References are to this edition.

Moisés, si es para desafío, ó afrenta, ó matar alguno, ántes será hecho que mandado, que la muerte tengo por vida, en tanto que sea en tu servicio."

As Lisandro goes to meet Roselia, Oligides urges Brumandilon to keep up with the party, and the braggart is ready with an excuse for lagging behind, p. 255: "Luégo, luégo, que doy filos rabiosos á mi espada carnícera en esta piedra, para que con un golpe haga lo que por muchos habia de hacer, la cual te digo que jamas se desenvainó que no hiciese riza espantosa en aquellos, que muy de gana no me daban la obediencia." However, when he hears of the death of Lisandro, he makes off at once.

The bully Escalion in the *Comedia llamada Selvagia*,¹⁷ closely resembles Brumandilon, in fact, he claims the latter as his father. He is a blustering fellow, a braggart of the first water, yet cowers before the dwarf Risdño and humbly asks pardon for his insults. He acts as emissary in the love affairs of his master. This incident was constantly repeated in the later plays and became a marked characteristic of the *rufián*. When his assistance is asked for an adventure in which he will incur some danger, he weakly excuses himself. In the second Scene of the first Act, Velmonte, servant of Flerinardo, asks the aid of Escalion in a certain adventure, and the latter replies that there will be less danger if he does not take part:

"... que yo juro por la metafísica de Aristóteles, el menor de toda la ciudad no sabría mi salida quando en el camino nos pusiesen treinta celadas de parientes y amigos de hombres que yo he privado de la vida; pues viéndose mi vigoroso brazo en tal aprieto, ¿qué ha de hacer sino despedazar dos ó tres docenas dellos, de do se siga alguna revuelta, que fuera mejor habernos estado en casa? De mí, que diga que no, todavía me pesa enviar tantas ánimas de fieles al purgatorio: demas desto, mi confesor otra cosa no me encarga sino que tenga conciencia de los huérfanos y viudas que por mí causa padecen gran laceria en toda Europa."

As soon as he scents danger, he forgets his duties and takes to his heels. While Flerinardo is serenading his sweetheart, Escalion cries, p. 46: "Gente y mucha, pese á Mars; alto, piés hácia la

¹⁷ Published in 1554. Republished in the *Colección de libros raros ó curiosos*, vol. V, Madrid, 1875. References are to this edition.

posada, dad al diablo cuenta con serranos." Thinking that he is pursued, he cries with terror: "¡Ay, ay, desdichado, que cerca vienen, muerto soy! ¡Jesus, Jesus, confision! ¡Oh, qué cortado soy, váleme Dios de la muerte! . . . Mas aún no asoman los enemigos, sin dubda á mis desventurados compañeros deben de estar destrozando."

Then we have this personal confession of the rufián, p. 47:

"Agora el diablo creo me hace á mí blasonar de las armas, y siendo más cobarde que una gallina, lo qual por un cabo es bueno, porque siquiera me tengan en algo; mas doy á la mala rabia tenida que por ella habeis de andar siempre la barba sobre el hombro, y estar obligado á que ninguno en toda la ciudad haga desafio que por compañero ó padrino no os convide, donde en diez años que en esto he andado, he sacado de barato este relativo, ó rascuñillo de veinte y cinco puntos que tengo de oreja á oreja, y tres veces apaleado, y quiera Dios que esta noche no quede la vida por las costillas."

In order to excuse himself for having run away, he tells a wonderful yarn how he had vanquished his enemies, p. 49: "¡Oh, descreo de la hórrida barba de Caron, y cómo por tener piés los demas se escaparon, que ellos conocieran quién es Escalion!"

Vallejo, a *rufián*, furnishes the chief comic element in the *Comedia llamada Eufemia*,¹⁸ of Lope de Rueda. The character of *rufián* appears in several plays of Lope de Rueda, a part which the latter probably represented himself.¹⁹ Vallejo swears vengeance upon a certain Grimaldo, and will not hear of reconciliation, p. 26:

"Así me podrían poner delante todas las pieças de artillería questán por defensa en todas las fronteras de Asia, Africa y en Europa, con el serpentino de bronce que en Cartagena está desterado por su demasiada soberbia, y que volviessen ahora á resucitar las lombardas de hierro colado con quel Cristianísimo Rey D. Fer-

¹⁸ Republished in the *Colección de libros raros ó curiosos*, vol. XXIV.

¹⁹ Cervantes writes in the Prologue to his *Ocho comedias y entremeses*: "Las comedias eran unos coloquios, como églogas, entre dos ó tres pastores y alguna pastora. Aderezábanlas y dilatábanlas con dos ó tres entremeses, ya de Negra, ya de *Rufián*, ya de Bobo, ya de Vizcaíno, que todas estas cuatro figuras, y otras muchas hacia el tal Lope, con la mayor excelencia y propiedad que pudiera imaginarse."

nando ganó á Baça; y finalmente aquel tan nombrado galeon de Portugal con toda la canalla que lo rige viniese, que todo lo que tengo dicho y mentado fuese bastante para mudarme de mi propósito."

Grimaldo, however, knows well the character of his adversary, and makes light of his threats, pp. 27-8: The following scene is in Lope de Rueda's best style. Vallejo tries to leave on the pretext of getting his weapons, but Grimaldo calls him back. Vallejo then attempts to bluff his enemy, p. 30:

Vallejo. "Ora, pues sois porfiado, sabed que os dejara un poco más con vida, si por ella fuera; déjeme, señor Polo, hacer á ese hombrecillo las preguntas que soy obligado por el descargo de mi conciencia."

Polo. "¿Qué le habeis de preguntar? Decí."

Vallejo. "Déjeme vuesa merced hacer lo que debo: ¿qué, tanto há, golondrinillo, que no te has confesado?"

Grimaldo. "¿Qué parte eres tú para pedirme aquezo, corta bolsas?"

Vallejo. "Señor Polo, vea vuesa merced si quiere aqueze pobrete moço que le digan algo á su padre, ó qué misas manda que le digan por su alma."

Vallejo, seeing that his attempt to frighten him are in vain, asks the name of his adversary, and on learning it, exclaims, p. 32: "Desventurado de mí, ¿quién es el que me ha librado tantas veces de la horca, sino el padre de aqueze caballero? Señor Grimaldo, tomad vuestra daga, y vos mismo abrid aqueste pecho, y sacadme el coraçon y abrilde por medio, y hallareis en él escrito el nombre de vuestro padre Luis Grimaldo." Thereupon, he agrees to meet Grimaldo at the tavern to celebrate their newly-formed friendship. But no sooner is his enemy out of hearing than Vallejo assumes again his swaggering air, p. 33: "¡Ah, Grimaldico, Grimaldico, cómo te has escapado de la muerte por dárteme á conocer! Pero guarde no vuelvas á dar el menor tropeçoncillo del mundo, que toda la parentela de los Grimaldos no será parte para que á mis manos ese pobrete esprittillo, que aunque está con la leche en los labios, no me lo rindas."

He takes part in the love affairs of his master, and claims that he can perform good service, since his influence was great with

women, p. 46: "¿Hay en toda la vida airada, ni en toda la máquina astrológica, á quien más sujecion tengan las moças que á Vallejo, tu lacayo?"

He boasts of his deeds, but flees thoroughly frightened by a false alarm, crying, p. 48: "¡Válame Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoza! Ah ladrones, ladrones, Leonardo, á punto, á punto!"

In Lope de Rueda's *Comedia Medora*,²⁰ the lackey Gargullo is a cowardly *rufián* who helps his master in his love affair. In the first Scene, Gargullo enters, blustering and swearing dire vengeance on a certain Peñalva, when the latter appears. He loses all his courage on seeing the resolute attitude of his enemy, and so far forgets the injury done to him that he is content to accept the suggestion of Logroño, another lackey, that the next time Peñalva wishes to strike him, he must give him warning beforehand. As soon as his enemy is out of sight, the braggart relates to Estela his brave conduct, p. 240:

Gargullo. "... si estuvieras á la ventana vieras correr más sangre por esa calle, que el rastro que se hace entre la puerta del campo y Teresa Gil."

Estela. "¿Pues tanta sangre de un hombre solo?"

Gargullo. "Más de treinta se van de aquí, todos amigos y valedores suyos."

Estela. "¿En fin?"

Gargullo. "En fin, que me perdonó un bofetón que nueve testigos con-
testes dicen que le di, y sobre todo echóse á mis pies
y demandóme perdon, y por ruegos de algunos amigos
que allí se hallaron, acabaron conmigo que le hiciese
merced de la vida por cinco años."

In the second Scene, Gargullo aids his master in his suit with Estela, and is well beaten for his pains. At the first blow, he calls for a confessor, feeling that death is at hand: "¡Oh desafortunado de tí, Gargullo! ¿Qué haré yo, señor, de mi vida? Desgraciado de mí, tráeme un cura, luego, luego," and he asks that an offering be made to Señor Santiago de Galicia, at his death.

In the *Paso Quinto*²¹ of Lope de Rueda, the braggart Sigüenza

²⁰ Republished in vol. XXIV of the *Colección de libros raros ó curiosos*, pp. 227-294.

²¹ Republished in vol. XXIII of the *Colección de libros raros ó curiosos*, p. 133 ff.

plays the chief part. He is accused of being a thief, and relates how he had lost his ears, p. 135:

"En el año de quinientos y cuarenta y seis, á nueve dias andados del mes de Abril, la cual historia se hallará hoy en día escrita en una tabla de cedro en la casa del Ayuntamiento de la isla de Mallorca; habiendo yo desmentido á un coronel, natural de Ibiça, y no osándome demandar la injuria por su persona, siete soldados suyos se convocaron á sacarme al campo, los nombres de los cuales eran, Dios les perdone, Campos, Pineda, Osorio, Campuzano, Trillo el Cojo, Perotete el Zurdu y Janote el Desgarrado; los cinco maté, y los dos tomé á merced."

Sebastiana bids him tell how he had lost his ears, and the braggart continues:

"A eso voy, que viéndome cercado de todos siete, por si acaso viniésemos á las manos, no me hiciesen presa en ellas, yo mismo usando de ardid de guerra, me las arranqué de cuajo, y arrojándoselas á uno que conmigo peleaba, le quebranté once dientes del golpe, y quedó torcido el pescueço, donde al catorceno día murió, sin que médico ninguno le pudiese dar remedio."

However, in spite of his boasts, Sigüenza proves himself a coward. Estepa appears, against whom Sigüenza had just uttered terrible threats, and bids him draw his sword. The braggart excuses himself with this weak plea, p. 138: "Que no es mia, señor, que un amigo me la dejó, con condicion que no riñese con ella." Estepa forces Sigüenza to deny all that he had said about him and then subjects him to a humiliating punishment.

It may be seen that in these three plays of Lope de Rueda, the *rufián* shows the same characteristics. He is ready to boast of his exploits, but is a coward at heart, and this exhibition of cowardice furnishes the chief comic element. In all three plays, he is a lackey; in *Eufemia* and *Medora*, he serves as an instrument in the love affairs of his master.

In the *Comedia Tholomea*²² by Alonso de la Vega, Robledillo, servant of Tholomeo, plays the part of *rufián*. He says that his profession is "matar hombres, reñir pendencias, cortar piernas, y braços, atrauessar caras, assolar exercitos, derrocar torres, minar

²² *Tres Comedias de Alonso de la Vega*, ed. by Menéndez y Pelayo, Dresden, 1905.

adarues: y sobre todo abrasar el mundo de vanda á vanda por tu seruicio."

His master says that he wishes to talk to his sweetheart in her garden, and bids him stand guard. Robledillo replies, p. 16:

"Las espaldas, dalas por bien guardadas, como si las tuuieses dentro de sessenta cofres: y aun, si es menester, a essa donzella que dizes que le cruse aquella cara de vanda a vanda: o que te la hazga de los cabellos, hechandola hasta la region del quemantissimo sol, y que allí se consuma, haré lo, haré lo en un abrir y cerrar de ojo: no es menester mas." In spite of his bragging, he tells his master to take the lead, and when Tholomeo bids him advance, Robledillo, like another Thraso, says that he prefers to stay behind: "Que no es couardia esta, señor, si no que yo guardo espaldas excellentissimamente."

The braggart is thoroughly frightened as soon as his master leaves him, p. 16:

"Anda, que no ayas miedo: el diablo se rebullira, las hojas que se menean pienso que son ladrillazos que tiran: y si alguno baxa de arriba, Dios perdone a Robledillo: tomad, por cierto que parece que abaxan: sí, dicho y hecho: el diablo me mete a mí en estas soçobras: ay que viene, no tengo mejor remedio que tomar este ramo, y poner me lo delante, y con la escuridad, diran, arbol es como los otros, y assí pasarán a delante." He is filled with terror and begs his master to leave so dangerous a locality.

Robledillo is the same type of braggart as we find in the plays of Lope de Rueda. He boasts of his valor, but shows the white feather when his courage is put to the test by his master.

In the *Comedia de la Duquesa de la Rosa*²³ by Alonso de la Vega, Brauonel, servant of the Mayordomo, is the bragging bully. The scene in which he appears is really only a *paso*, and has no organic connection with the rest of the play. The braggart enters, blustering, and tells his master that he had been accused of having been publicly whipped, whereupon he had attacked his seven enemies, killed one, and put the others to flight. When he is confronted by Loaysa who says that Brauonel had been well beaten by some *pagezillos* who had taken his sword, the bully at first tries to deny the charge, but finally admits that he had gotten the worst

²³ *Ibid.*

of the quarrel. He recovers his courage as soon as Loaysa is out of sight. Like the *rufianes* of Lope de Rueda, he is a bragging coward, but he does not serve as an instrument in the intrigue.

In *El Infamador*²⁴ by Juan de la Cueva, Farandon, a servant of Leucino, is a braggart who aids his master in his guilty designs. As in *Lisandro y Roselia*, he carries on negotiations with the bawd Teodora in order to overcome the resistance of Eliodora. He boasts of his valor, and issues a general challenge, p. 272:

"Cualquiera que dijere qu'este agravio
Puede satisfacerse sin castigo,
Digo que miente, y salga luego al campo,
Donde al contrario le haré que diga,
O á bofetones le haré que lance
La lengua, con el ánima revuelta."

As a penalty for the outrage done to Eliodora, Farandon is ordered by Diana to be burned to death. Then the bully lays aside his bragging airs and pleads for mercy, p. 284:

"O vírgen delia, muévate mi llanto,
Y ten piedad de la miseria mia."

I have attempted to show that the braggart soldier and *rufián* appeared quite frequently in the Spanish plays of the sixteenth century. They resemble each other to such an extent that it is often difficult to classify them. They both are ready to boast of their exploits, but in most cases, prove in time of danger that their valor consists only in words. In the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, for example, Centurio is both a braggart soldier and a *rufián*. Because of this confusion, I have preferred to attempt another classification. In the first group, the soldier and *rufián* are concerned chiefly with their own affairs, while in the second, they are either servants, or aid someone else in his intrigues. It is only this second class which is of importance in the creation of the *gracioso*.

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²⁴ Republished by Ochoa, *Tesoro del teatro español*, vol. I, p. 264 ff.

MISCELLANEOUS

VITA NOVA: 41 AND CLIGÉS: 5815ff.

ONE of the most justly admired passages in the *Vita Nova* is the twenty-fourth sonnet:

Deh peregrini, che pensosi andate
Forse di cosa che non v'è presente,
Venite voi di sì lontana gente,
Come alla vista voi ne dimostrate?
Che non piangete, quando voi passate
Per lo suo mezzo la città dolente,
Come quelle persone, che neente
Par che intendesser la sua gravitate.
Se voi restate, per volerla udire,
Certo lo core ne' sospir mi dice,
Che lagrimando n'uscirete pui.
Ella ha perduta la sua Beatrice;
E le parole, ch' uom di lei può dire,
Hanno virtù di far piangere altrui.

It will be recalled that pilgrims, on their way to Rome, pass through Florence. The city is filled with mourning. Dante reflects that, if the pilgrims knew the cause of the city's grief for the death of Beatrice, they too would join in the general lamentation. This reflection is the *raison d'être* for the sonnet which he addresses to the pilgrims as above quoted.

It is true, as Farinelli remarks (*Dante e la Francia*, vol. I, p. 16, note), that Dante does not anywhere mention Chrétien de Troyes. But Dante scholars may be interested in a passage of *Cligés* by Chrétien, antedating the *Vita Nova* by a century and a quarter, in which the French poet has recourse to the same conceit in order to express the grief of the Greek city for the death of the heroine of the poem, the beloved Empress Fenice. The following translation of *Cligés*, 5815ff. will show how the two poets resort to the same device in order to enhance a similar situation.

"In the midst of the tears and cries, as the story tells, there came three very aged doctors from Salerno, where they had long resided.

Noticing the great grief, they stopped and inquired the cause of the cries and tears, and why the people were all in distress and sorrow. And this sad answer is made to them: 'In God's name! gentlemen, don't you know? The whole world would be distracted, as we are, if it knew of the great grief and sorrow and loss and deprivation that has come to us this day. In God's name! where have you come from, then, when you do not know what has happened just now in this city? We will tell you the truth, for we wish you to accompany us in the grief with which we are afflicted.'"

Then follows a conventional reproach of Death for having, as is its wont, removed a light which God had set in the world, and for having attacked the fairest of his creatures. The passage concludes: "Beauty, courtesy and knowledge, and all the accompanying virtues of goodness which a lady can possess, have been taken and filched from us by Death, who has deprived us of so many blessings in the person of my lady the Empress. Thus has Death robbed us all of life."¹

The doctors regret keenly that they did not arrive sooner, confident that their skill would have saved the Empress' life. The rest of the episode has no bearing on a comparison with the passage in the *Vita Nova*.

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¹ Antre les lermes et les criz,
Si con tesmoingne li escriz,
Sont venu troi fisicien
De Salerne, mout ancien,
Ou lonc tans avoient esté.
Por le grant duel sont aresté,
Si demandent et si anquierent,
Don li cri et les lermes ierent,
Por quoi s'afolent et confondent.
Et cil lor dient et respondent:
"Des! seignor, don ne savez vos?
De ce devroit ansamble o nos
Toz li mondes desver a tire,
S'il savoit le grant duel et l'ire
Et le damage et la grant perte,
Qu'ui cest jor nos est aoverte.
Des! dont estes vos donc venu,
Quant ne savez, qu'est venu
Ore androit an ceste cité?
Nos vos dirons la verité,

Que aconpaignier vos volons
Au duel, de quoi nos nos dolons.

.

Biauté, cortésie et savoir
Et quanque dame puisse avoir,
Qu'apartenir doie a bonté,
Nos a tolu et mesconté
La morz, qui toz biens a periz
An ma dame, l'anpererriz.
Einsi nos a la morz tuéz."

A SONNET OF CIRO DI PERS ATTRIBUTED TO G. F.
BUSENELLO

THE recent publication by Benedetto Croce of his anthology of *Lirici Marinisti* (Bari, Laterza, 1910, in *Scrittori d'Italia*), enables me to solve a small problem which arises in connection with my edition of the *Sonetti amorosi e morali* of Gian Francesco Busenello (Venice, Fabris, 1911). I included in that edition the sonnet entitled *Bella donna che aveva i capelli neri* (no. XXXVIII of the edition), on the authority of the miscellaneous Codex Correr, 1198, p. 240a, which bears the specific attribution: *del Businello*. Isolated attributions from such sources are suspect in themselves; yet we have no right to reject them unless definite evidence is forthcoming. This sonnet in fact offers a discrepancy with another sonnet, which properly could belong to the *amorosi*. This poem (no. I. of the *sonetti vari*), entitled erroneously *Per una recamatrice chiamata Margherita*, categorically describes the lady: "Dai begli occhi l'azzurro e l'or dai crini," whereas no. XXXVIII develops conceits around the black hair and the flashing eyes of the lover. Lacking specific descriptions of Lilla in these respects in the other sonnets, there was no satisfactory way of determining which of the two poems belonged to her, which to some other woman. I selected the sonnet on the *capelli neri* for the principal series as being the more interesting of the two.

This sonnet, however, belongs to *Ciro di Pers* and is put by Mr. Croce at the head of his selections from that author. At any rate it should be noted that the sonnet was printed in the 1689 Venice edition of the *Poesie* of Pers. This edition, to be sure, was made twenty-seven years after the death of Pers in 1662. How much authority it may have is therefore questionable, especially as we lack thoroughgoing examination of Pers's poetry. It is noteworthy for instance that Busenello and Pers were in correspondence with each other, and read and praised each other's works. Among the papers of either could be found easily copies of compositions by the other.

There is, however, little question of preference between the probable accuracy of the editor of the 1687 edition of Pers and of the careless compiler of a miscellaneous manuscript.

Inasmuch as the two sources for this sonnet differ materially in text I reproduce them here for the better intelligence of the verses as they stand in the *Lirici marinisti* and in my edition Codex Correr, 1198:

Ethiope chiome che dai raggi ardenti
Di due soli vicini il fosco avete,
Voi di mia vita i duri stami siete
Onde mi fila Cloto ore dolenti.
O del foco d'amor carboni spenti!
Ma che spenti! Non meno i cori ardete,
Giudici veri, che mostrar solete
Falsi d'ogn'altro crin gli ori lucenti.
O di notti celesti ombre divine,
In due emisferi è il ciel d'amor diviso,
E voi del giorno suo sete il confine.
Venga, chi mirar vuol dentro un bel viso
Con una bianca fronte in nero crine
Dipinto a chiaro scuro il paradiso.

Lirici marinisti, p. 363:

Le chiome nere.

Chiome etiòpe, che da' raggi ardenti
de' duo Soli vicini il fosco avete,
voi di mia vita i neri stami sète,
onde mi fila Cloto ore dolenti.
O del foco d'amor carboni spenti,
ma che spenti non meno i cori ardete;
pietre di Batto, che mostrar solete
falsi d'ogn'altro crin gli ori lucenti;
O di celeste notte ombre divine;
in duo emisperi è il ciel d'amor diviso,
e voi del giorno suo sète il confine.
Venga chi veder vuole entro un bel viso,
con una bianca fronte e un nero crine,
dipinto a chiaroscuro il paradiso.

ARTHUR LIVINGSTON.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

La Chastelaine de Vergi. Poème du XIII^e siècle. Edité par Gaston Raynaud.
Paris, H. Champion, 1910. Pp. viii + 31.

This is the first volume of a new series of Old French and Provençal texts of earlier date than 1500, with the general title *Les Classiques français du moyen âge*. The series is under the direction of M. Mario Roques, Directeur adjoint à l'École pratique des Hautes Études. The announcement signed by him and setting forth the plan of the series contemplates the publication of all the really important works (the word "classiques" is to be taken in a wide sense), without full vocabularies or commentaries: "il existe aujourd'hui assez de recueils philologiques, d'ouvrages généraux, d'études particulières, de dictionnaires, auxquels il est légitime d'envoyer; mais il serait indispensable que ces textes fussent édités avec assez de rigueur et munis d'indications historiques et critiques suffisantes pour que le travail scientifique y trouvât immédiatement une base certaine; il faudrait encore que ces éditions fussent d'un prix modique . . . enfin que la publication fût assez rapide pour fournir au bout de peu d'années une véritable bibliothèque riche et variée." This is a most interesting and attractiv plan, and we may all hope that it will be carried out with the success it well deserves.

The series is worthily opend by the work whose title is given above. The introduction contains brief indications of the early and late popularity in France and other countries of this charmingly told story, and of its various alterations, notably the confusion with the *Dame de Fayel* and the *Châtelaine de Coucy*, the different editions of the Old French text, a list of the MSS., in which is noteworthy the addition of one (of the thirteenth century) not known to the editor when he publisht his edition in *Romania*, XXI (1892), a list of the most interesting variants of the MSS. of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, including the essential variants of the new MS. (*I*), and, finally, references for further study. So brief an introduction can of course give no full discussion and arguments on the questions raised by the introduction to Raynaud's earlier edition, and these references are meant to take the place of such discussions. But it may be noticed that the editor now says that "l'héroïne a peut-être réellement vécu à la cour de Hugues IV, duc de Bourgogne," which shows that he is no longer so confident as formerly of the correctness of the historical identifications made by him in 1892. His opinion at that time was not accepted by Gröber (*Grundriss*, II. i., 911), any more than by Lorenz and Brandin. One might go further and doubt whether the poem was written in Burgundy, and whether the poet himself was a Burgundian. The few rimes adduced by M. Raynaud in 1892 can hardly be called decisiv, and indeed his language (*Romania*, XXI, 154) was sufficiently cautious.¹

¹ The recent study by M. E. Philippon (*Romania*, XXXIX, 476 ff., *Les Parlers du duché de Bourgogne aux XIII^e et aux XIV^e siècles*) gives some help in the study of this question, tho less than might be expected.

The text of 1892 has been very carefully revised for this new edition, more carefully than might be inferred from the words used in the introduction ("revu et amélioré en quelques endroits"). A comparison of the two texts with regard to punctuation, use of accents, spelling, etc., shows that every line was minutely scrutinized for the present edition. In a few cases there is room for a difference of opinion. I have noticed a few misprints. In line 118 *ceux* is for *ceus*, 223 *si* for *se*, 262 *Amors* (I suppose) for *amors*, 720 *savent* for *sevent*, 817 *qui* for *cui*, and doubtless 928 *toz qui* for *toz, qui, qui* being a singular.

For consideration in a later edition, I offer the following remarks on a few passages. In line 218 I am not sure that *voliez*, instead of the former reading *voiez* (in 1892), is not really a misprint. Since the other occurrences in the poem of a 2d pers. pl. imperf. indic. or conditional show *-iez* in two syllables, *voliez* with *-iez* in one syllable is suspicious. The MS. *H* is the only one mentioned in *Romania*, XXI, 171, with the imperfect (*vouliez*), while *C*, the MS. which is in general followed, has *le volez fiancier*. *I* has *fiancier* and apparently *voliez*. The future indic. *direz* follows in line 220 and the conditional in lines 221 and 222 of Reynaud's text. The rime here requires *-ier*, and Reynaud prints *chevalier* and in rime *afier*. But in line 4 of the poem we find *fier* in rime with *celer*, so that the secondary pronunciation *afier* does not seem to have been the poet's.—In line 367 we look for *ne n'anuit* instead of *ne anuit* (*mes qu'il ne vous griet ne anuit*). Only *D*, it seems, has the negativ adverb with the second verb.—In line 393 Brandin changed *chevalier* to *chienet* in his text, against all the MSS. used and he apparently thought the change (doubtless on account of the following lines) so obviously necessary that it only needed mention to be at once accepted. Reynaud mentions this correction among the variants which he gives, adding, "*ce qui ne paraît pas s'accorder avec la suite*." It is to be wished that he had explained why it does not accord with what follows; certainly the lines that follow seem to say that the lady came out of her chamber to meet the knight, who therefore was not already in the chamber. To be sure, if *chienet* is substituted for *chevalier* and no other change is made, the verse becomes too short by one syllable, and Brandin accordingly takes the reading of *D*, making the passage read: [*li dus*] *vit en la chambre entrer Le chienet, et ainssy issin Sa niece*, etc., the other MSS. having in line 393 *Le chevalier, et vit issin*.—Line 422 has the noteworthy pret. 3d sing. *connu* in rime with *fu*. Méon's text (line 420) has the normal *connut* riming with *s'estut* (this latter the reading of *H*). In 687 *tout premeraine* can hardly be admitted; the simplest correction seems to be as in *E* (*sa niece toute premeraine*). There are a few passages in Méon's edition which deserve consideration; cf. (in his numbering) 92, where *qui* would be expected for the first word, 438, 563.

The price of this handy and at the same time attractiv little volume is indeed moderate, being only eighty centimes.

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Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary (1380-1844). By PAGET TOYNBEE. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909. Two volumes; I, pp. li, 684; II, 757.

P. Toynbee in his *Dante in English Literature* offers a valuable collection of material for the future historian of either the influence of Italy on English

literature, or of the vicissitudes of literary taste, from Chaucer the first Englishman to translate portions of Dante, to the death of Henry Cary. Cary's translation, even to-day, represents Dante to the majority of English-speaking people, and was the first contribution to the subject treated by Mr. Toynbee on account of the citations of the many passages of English poets which owed their inspiration to the verses of the Italian poet, for which they often serve as the best comment. The author has made use of subsequent studies on the subject, confined to a limited field, or to a single author, but he has had to trust mostly to his own readings, of which one must judge not only by the array of evidence he puts before his reader's eyes, but also by bearing in mind that far wider field, in which he worked without finding any reward for his industry. Commendable as the book is for the industry and patience displayed, it should not be, nay, it can not be, compared with such a masterpiece of literary history and criticism as Farinelli's *Dante e la Francia*, of which the mere title denotes the wider scope. The author has not attempted to do anything more than to collect and arrange chronologically the allusions to Dante found in English literature, within the limits set by himself, and to preface each extract with a slight biographical sketch of the author. In consonance with the plan of composition he has only given quotations whose inspiration from the *Commedia* is assured; so he has not cited passages from Gower, the Scotch Chaucerians, and Spencer, which have only a general resemblance to passages of Dante. In the introduction of fifty pages in which Toynbee sums up the results of his researches, he has not considered such mooted questions as Lydgate's allusion to one of Chaucer's works as "Daunt in Englysche," or pointed out that some instances of Spencer's apparent indebtedness to Dante, are due to his free use of Ariosto and Tasso. Of all the subsidiary information, illustrating his subject, such as was collected by Farinelli, he has only noted the appearance of works of Dante in English libraries, prior to the nineteenth century, and the rendering of passages from Dante, found in a few of the English translations of Italian works. In reviewing a work like this, it is not enough to note a few minor errors and omissions, one should supplement the information of the author with citations from works which are not easily accessible.

An account of Lydgate, in which he appears as a student of Dante "given in a fifteenth-century MS" (I, 18) is clearly nothing but a translation of the article in Bale's *Catalogus* of 1557-9, which Toynbee has cited in its proper place (37). Farinelli (I, 199 ff.) gives all the necessary references to Laurent de Premierfait's French version of Boccaccio's *De casibus*, the source of Lydgate's information concerning Dante, of which Toynbee has not thought it worth while to mention the author. Nor has he taken the opportunity (22) to note whether the passage of interest to Dante students in Locher's preface to his translation of Brant's *Narrenschiff*, is found in Watson's rendering of the French version, which was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1509, the same year in which Pynson published Barclay's translation with his Latin original. Farinelli (225) has cited the pertinent passage of the French version, and referred to the essential authorities on Watson's translation, without mentioning the translator's name. A full discussion of the copies of Serravalle's Latin translation of the *Divina Commedia*, presented to the libraries of Oxford and Wells Cathedral (xvii, 20, 30), is to be found in the *Twentieth Report of the Cambridge Dante Society* (page 17 and ff.). The complaints of spiritual-minded

men against the use of frivolous stories in sermons, are too frequent (cf., e. g., Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire française au moyen Age*, 2d ed., 15 ff.; 317 ff.; Crane, *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, lviii ff.; L. Delisle, *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXX, 474; Lechler, *John Wycliff and his English Precursors*, 205 ff., 226), for it to be necessary to find a reminiscence of Dante's lines on the subject in some paltry verses of Roy and Barlowe (25). The author fails to note (38) a manuscript work of William Thomas of which the scene is laid in Bologna (Hazlitt, *Bibliogr. Collections*, 3d Ser., Supplement 103), and references should have been made to the autobiography of Sir Thomas Hoby, who met Thomas returning from Italy, on his own way there, where he subsequently met Henry Parker (33) and William Barker (40; *A Booke of the Travaile and Lief of me, Thomas Hoby*, etc., ed. E. Powell, *Camden Miscellany*, X, 4, 19, 21, 25, 52, 61). Jewel's phrase (52) "Dantes, an Italian poet, by expres words calleth Rome the whore of Babylon" undoubtedly had its source in the first English edition of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (cf. 57-8), published in 1563, if not in its source, the second edition of the *Catalogus testium veritatis* of Mathias Flaccus Illyricus, published the year before at Basle by Oporinus, in whose printing office, Foxe had worked as a proof-reader. The first edition of Flaccus's work does not contain the forced interpretation of *Purg.*, XXXII, 148 ff. (E. Sulger-Gebing, *Zeit. f. vergleich. Litter.*, VIII, 233), which was introduced into later editions (e. g., ed. Frankfurt, 1672, 743-4); and it is probably not found in the original Latin form of the *Book of Martyrs*, issued by the same publisher in 1559. The interest of the English reformers in the work of Flaccus was not a slight one, as is shown by the loan of books to the author by Queen Elizabeth and Archbishop Parker, to furnish material for his *Centuriatores magdeburgici* (*Calendar of State Papers; Foreign 1561-2*, 117-9), and the continued use of his earlier work for his list of church reformers by van der Noodt (56), Humphrey (71), Moryson (92), Leigh (148), Birckbek (see below) and Blount as late as 1690 (177, n. 1).

In contrast with this array of Protestant writers who follow one authority in citing Dante with approval as a champion of their side, there is at least one Romanist who presents another view of the matter. Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester, in his *Answer to Feckenham's Declaration of Scruples of Conscience Touching the Oaths of Supremacy*, published in 1566, in treating of the conflicts between the imperial and papal interests makes the statement (p. 80b, Div. 134) "Whereupon the Emperour willed them [i. e., learned men] to search out the matter diligently and to dispute upon, and to gather into bookes, their mindes therein which diverse did," and cites "Marsiglius Patavinus, Ockam, Dantes, Petrarche" as these writers. The author evidently got all his information from Flaccus, if not from Foxe. Such was not the case with the author of *A Counter-Blast to M. Hornes Vaine Blasts Against M. Feckenham*, etc., which was published at Lovain the next year. This was written by "Thomas Stapleton, Student of Divinitie" according to the title-page, and on this authority it appears in a Latin translation in the second volume of the collected works of the most learned English Catholic of his time, but it has been ascribed with good reason to either Feckenham himself, or Nicolas Harpsfield (*Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, XVIII, 285; XXIV, 431). Under the rubric "M. Horne proveth his new primacie by poets" is found the following interesting passage (p. 334, a and b):

But when ye come to number them ye fynd none, but the Poetes Dantes, and Petrarcha, Ockam the scholeman, and the great hereticke Marsilius Patavinus. And shall these men, M. Horne, countervayle, or overweighe the practise of the church ever since used to the contrary and confirmed by the great consent of the catholyke writers and diverse general councelles withal? Ye write as out of Antonius or Marius in a several and latin letter 'the Popes attempts were erroneous and derogating from the Christian religion. But such words I fynd as yet in neither of them, nor in any other of your authors here-named. And your author Antonius saith, that in this point Dantes and Ockam with others do erre; and that the monarchy of the Empire is subject to the Church ever in matters temporal. And whereas your secte wil have no meane place, for any Christians, but heaven or hell, your Dantes (as Antonius telleth [*In margin* Antonius part 3, titul. 21, cap. 5, 82] hathe fownde a meane place, beside heaven and hel for Socrates, Aristotle, Cicero, Homere and suche lyke. Surely Dantes, for his other opinion touching themperours subjection is counted not much better than an heretyke. [Bartolus in lege prima ff. de requirendis reis]. . . . But as for these writers, 'Marsilius Patavinus, Ockam, Dantes, and Petrache', with diverse others, part of whom your brethern in Basil have patched up together, in a greate volume, as they labour al to prove the Emperour above the Pope in temporal jurisdiction and government, wherein yet they erred (as we have said) so none of them al does labour to prove the Emperour supreme governour in spirituall and ecclesiastical causes (as you the first founders of this heresy do say and swears to) but do leave that to the Bishoppes, yea and some of them to the Pope to. And there fore al were it true, that they wrote in the favoure of Lewis the 4 then Emperour, yet were you never the nere of your purpose by one iote. [*De Jurisdict. Imper. & ecclesiast. Basil. impress. Anno 1566*].

In the Table appears the phrase "Dantes a foule heriticke." The judgments on Dante of Antoninus, archbishop of Florence and of Bartholus a Saxoferrato, may have been taken from an earlier controversial work due to a partisan of the Papal claims, who then had the merit of citing these authorities three centuries before Carducci referred to (*Opere*, VII, 183-4), and Sulger-Gebing cited them (*op. cit.*, 224-7).

Florio's translation of the two Dante passages cited by Montaigne in his *Essais*, I, 25; II, 12) should have been given (85). Good service has been done in citing entries of copies of Dante's works found in Bodleian catalogues of the seventeenth century (103-5), which have escaped the notice of the historian of that library (W. D. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, 2d ed., 301, n. 2), but in this connection Toynbee should have given the good story of ('The Book of the mousetrapp,' told by Girolamo Gigli in his *Vocabulario Cateriniano* (Roma, 1717, pp. ccii-cciii, s. v. *pronunziatione*). The Florentines took advantage of their commercial preeminence "sopra tutte le nazioni d'Italia" in commercial matters to spread their peculiar dialect "l'idiotismo loro":

Ed in questo proposito mi sovieni aver letto (svanita memoria mia, che non so dove per l'appunto) che a propagazione delle fiorentine scritture solevano i mercadanti del cacio marzolina di Lucardo tenere al soldo molti scrittori per copiare i migliori autori del buon secolo, e con quelli fasciare i buoni bambolini burrati, acciocchè ne parti dell' oriente e del settrione, dovunque tal mercanzia si comperasse, si accreditasse insieme il latte delle vacche fiorentine quello delle fiorentine muse; e ciò è tanto vero, quanto che in Osfolk nella Bodlejana ancor oggi conservasi un Dante corettissimo delle prime divulgazioni a penna, con cui artificiosamente fu involta una spedizione intiera de cacio, a tempo dei Bardi negozianti in Inghilterra, e chiamasi il Dante Lucardino, a cui da' custodi della gran Biblioteca si tengono allato sempre due trappole, attesa la persecuzione che fanno sempre i sorci a quel codice in cacciata; ed ultimamente vien chiamato in quella lingua The Book of the mousetrapp, cioè il codice delle trappole.

If copies of the original edition of Gigli's book are rare on account of its suppression before its completion by a papal bull dating August 21, 1717, the story is available in Fanfani's edition (II, 12), and part of the passage quoted was translated sixty years ago in *Notes and Queries* (Ser. I, vol. I, 154).

William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, in his most important work, *Domesday* (1614) shows an interest in Dante, not as a poet, with whose great work he shows no personal acquaintance, but as one of three Florentines, the others being Petrarch and Savonarola, who protested against the corruption of the church. At the same time he blames him for his belief in purgatory:

That dainty towne, the pearle of Arnes rich plains,
A nursery of good wits, still friend to arts,
Not mother (as one said) of haplesse swaines,
Doth now yeeld three, all prais'd for vertuous parts;
The first old Dante (swolne with just disdaines)
To see the errours of corrupted hearts;
Who doth their wayes (a censure) strictly trace,
Yet more then God did make doth grant one place. (The Ninth Hour, st. 99).

But one Protestant apologist was not satisfied with citations from Dante at second- or third-hand. Simon Birckbeck, in his *The Protestants Evidence: Taken out of Good Records*, etc., first published in 1634, and again in 1657 "corrected, and much enlarged by the Author," while making frequent use of the *Catalogus* of Flaccus, in a Genevan edition of 1608, cites the Italian text of the *Commedia* after an edition, which he notes in his "Catalogue of Authors cited in this Treatise," as "*Dante l'inferno del Purgatorio, del Paradiso appresso in Lione 1571.*" In "The Fourteenth Century" under the heading *Of Supremacie* he states:

In this Age there were divers both of the *Greek* and *Latine* Church who stood for Regall Jurisdiction against Papall usurpation; and namely, *Barlaam* the Monk; *Nilus* Archbishop of *Thessalonica*; *Marsilius Patavinus*; *Michael Cesenas* General of the gray Friars; *Dante* the *Italian* Poet (346; ed. 1657).

Taking up each of these authors in turn he tells of Dante:

About this time also lived the noble *Florentine* Poet, *Dante*, a learned Philosopher and Divine, who wrote a book against the Pope, concerning the Monarchy of the Emperour; but for taking part with him, the Pope banished him (348).

A violent partisan alone could find authority for the later part of this statement in the phrase from the *de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* of Trithemina cited in the margin:

vir tàm in divinis Scripturis, quam in secularibus literis omnium suo tempore studiosissimus, pulsus patria omnibus diebus suis exulavit.

Further on he has devoted a special section to Dante and Petrarch, where after giving more fully than his predecessors the contents of the passages cited as Antipapal, he cites the Italian text of thirty-seven lines of which he presents a rimed verse translation. Doggerel as it is, it is the first attempt at what is professedly a translation of parts of the *Commedia* into English:

In this Age lived those famous *Florentine* Poets, *Dante* and *Petrarch*; as also our English Laureat, Chaucer; as also *Johannes de Rupe-scissa*, or rock-cliffe,

and S. *Bridget*. And these found fault with the Romish faith, as well as with her manners. *Dante* in his Poem of Paradise, written in *Italian*, complains, that the Pope of a Shepherd was become a Wolf, and diverted Christs sheep out of the true way; that the Gospel was forsaken, the writings of the fathers neglected, and the Decretals onely studied. That in times past war was made upon the Church by the sword, but now by a famine and dearth of the Word, which was allotted for the food of the soul, and not wont to be denyed to any that desired it; that men applauded themselves in their own conceits, but the Gospel was silenced; that the poor sheep were fed with the puffs of windes, and were pined and consumed away.

Dante his words are these:¹ [*Par. ix, 130-6*]

Which may be thus Englished :

She did produce, and forth hath spread
The cursed flower, which hath misled
The sheep and lambs, because that then
Shepherds became fierce Wolves, not men.
Hereupon the Gospel clear,
And the ancient Fathers were
Forsaken; then the Decretals
By the Pope and Cardinals
Were onely read; as may appear
By th' salvage of the gowns they wear.

Again,² [*Par. xviii, 127-9*]:

I' th' dayes of old with sword they fought,
But now a new way they have sought,
By taking away now here, now then,
The bread of life from starved men;
Which our pious Fathers ne're denyed,
To any one that for it cryed.

Again,³ [*Par. xxix, 109-126*]:

Christ said not to th' Apostles, Go
And preache vain toys the world unto:
But he did give them a true ground,
Which onely did in their ears sound.
So providing for to fight,
And to kindle faith's true light,
Out of the Gospel they did bring
Their shield and spears t' effect the thing.
Now the way of preaching, is with toys
To stuffe a Sermon; and herein joyes
Their teachers; if the people do but smile
At their conceits, the Frier i' th' mean while
Huffe's up his Cowl, and is much admir'd;
For that's his aim: there's nothing else requir'd:
But in his hood there is a nest
Of birds, which could the vulgar see,
They might spie pardons, and the rest,
How worthy of their trust they bee.
By these their Indulgences and Pardons,
[And by their Friars absolutions]
Such follies in the earth abound,

¹ Dante, *Canto 9, del Paradiso*, p. 483.

² *Id.*, *ibid. Canto, 18*, p. 538.

³ *Id.*, *ibid. Canto, 29*, p. 601.

That without prooffe or other ground
 Of testimony, men agree
 To any promise that made can bee:
 By this, St. Anthony piggs grow fat,
 And such like Pardoners: so that
 Hereby they feed the belly and the groin,
 Paying their people with counterfeit coin.

Here we see how the poet taxeth papall Indulgences with the Friers vented, enriching themselves by marting such pardons, or Bulls signed or sealed with Lead, for which the people paid currant money; he also taxeth such as vainly trusted to such pardons; as also the fond conceit they had of being shriven and absolved in a Monks cowle, as if some rare vertue had laid in that *Cuculla*, or *Capuccio*, alluding (belike) to the Monkes hood, or Friers cowle, as if the fashion thereof had resembled the Cuckow.

The same *Dante* in covert terms, calleth *Rome* the Whore of Babylon mentioned in the *Apocalyps*; his words are these⁴ [Inf. xix, 105-111]:

The Evangelist meets with you well
 You [Romish] Pastours; when he doth tell
 How he did see the woman, which
 Sits on the waters [that foul witch]
 To play the whore with Kings; that Beast
 That born was with seven horns at least.
 And had the sign of some ten more
 T' appease her husband by their power.

The authour alludes to that in the *Revelation*, of the great Whore that sitteth on many waters, *Revelat.*, 17, 1. and of the beast that beareth her, which hath seven heads, and ten horns, *vers.* 7 with whom the Kings of the earth commit fornication, *Chap.* 18, v. 3 (351-4).

The second edition of Birkbek was printed again as an appendix to E. Gibson's *Preservative from Popery* no later than 1849.

The result of making Dante a partisan in a religious quarrel is perhaps shown under its worst form in what is professedly a literary history, in which he appears primarily as a controversial writer, and incidentally as a poet. R. Gery in his *Appendix* to Cave's *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia litteraria*, published at Oxford in 1698, after giving a slight account of Dante's life continues:

Jura Imperialia adversus Pontificum Rom. usurpationes erudito plane opere defendit, quod Monarchiam inscripsit. Opus istud tribus libris absolutum *primus* in lucem emisit inter varios auctores de *Imperiali Jurisdictione & Potestate Ecclesiastica* Simon Schardius. Basil, 1566, Argent. 1609, fol. Seperatim edidit Joan. Operinus typographus Basileus 1559 8°. Dantem istum alium a Dante poëta immerito suspicatus. Notandum est dictum opus in Ind. Expurgat. prohiberi, & poematum (quae plurima patrio sermone magna ingenii ubertate cecinit) loca nonnulla, quibus monachorum ineptiam & luxuriam perstrinxit, unde Romae haeresis censuram vix aut ne vix quidem evitavit. scripsit etiam de *Vulgari Eloquentia* libros duos a Jac. Corbonello [sic] editos Paris, 1577, 8°.

Then follows in a note:

Scripsit etiam Drama Satyricum de *Coelo, purgatorio & inferno*, & *Epistolam ad Canem Scaligerum* in Musaeo Minervae Venetae, editam tom. 3, p. 220, Venet., 1700, fol. Extant libr. 2 de *vulgari eloquentia* *ibid.*, tom. 1, p. 36, & *Quaestio de natura elementorum aquae & terrae* edit. Venet., 1508, 4to. Codex Dantis d'Aligeri auctori pene aequalis asservatur MS. in bibl. D. Mutinensis teste

⁴ Dante *Inferno*, Canto 19, p. 120.

Montfaucon, *Diar. Ital.*, p. 33. Ejus *Poëmata Italica* prodierunt Venet., 1564, fol. ut narrat Blount in *Censura auctorum*, p. 298.

No details of this information have been changed in the edition of Cave's work, published in 1743 (II, p. 9). J. Hartley in his *Catalogus Universalis*, 1701, only notes the text edition of Dante of 1477, and that with Landino's commentary of 1574 (I, 75 A).

In the third number of the *Bibliotheca literaria* for 1722 (p. 12) the Rev. Mr. Wasse, in an article entitled "Memorial concerning the Desiderata in Learning" notes among Italian works "which would appear in our Language with advantage," "Dante del sito e forma dell'Inferno." The translation of a part of *Inf.* xxiv which appeared anonymously in Dodsley's Museum in 1746 (246), was due to Joseph Spence (*Pope's Works*, ed. J. Warton, 1797, IV, 283). Toynbee has missed (253) Thyer's note on the allusion to Casella in Milton's sonnet, given in Newton's edition of Milton's works (1753, 233). Joseph Warton's earliest allusion to Dante (301 ff.) is to be found in the *Adventurer* of September 4, 1753, where he gives the well-worn story of Dante's reply to a courtier. His latest reference is to be found in a long note upon Pope's versification of the line of Donne (101, 193), which alludes to Dante (*op. cit.*). There was an enquiry in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* for August, 1801 (LXXXI, 283), in regard to Huggins' translation, of a date prior to the enquiries made in the *Monthly Review* (307). Those two famous blue-stockings Miss Talbot and Mrs. Carter found both an interest and difficulties in reading Dante. The first in a letter dating July 29, 1745, in answer to a general query writes:

Indeed the last (i. e., Dante) as it is but the second time of reading him, I am by no means mistress of yet; I can see amazing strokes of beauty in several passages, but the whole I have as yet no comprehension of. If you are fond of drawing plans I wish you would send me a sketch of his seventh circles of Inferno.

To this Mrs. Carter replied under the date of August 8, 1745:

It is a great consolation to me to find you are not a perfect mistress of Dante for I was greatly mortified in looking over it last summer to perceive it so much beyond my comprehension, whereas I now think it very marvellous I could make out a single line (*A Series of Letters between Mrs. E. Carter and Miss Talbot from the year 1741-1770*, 1809, I, 101, 106).

Goldsmith (321) twice refers to the misfortunes of Dante, once in the *Citizen of the World*, Letter xliii; "when I hear of the persecutions of Dante," and again in his *Essay on Butler's Remains*: "Thus Dante, Theodorus Gaza, and Cassander, were soured by their distresses at least into misanthropy (*Works*, 1885, II, 579; IV, 378).

One would expect to find a reference to Burney's comparison of Dante with Shakespere, his citations from the *De vulgari eloquio*, the allusions to the letter to Can Grande, and Milton's indebtedness to the episode of Casella, all of which are found on pages preceding and following the passage of the *History of Music* cited (324). And why is the allusion to, and quotation of *Inf.* XXXII, 35 ff. in the third volume of the *History* (40, n. 2) unnoted? Gibbon's acquaintance with Dante was something more than may be implied from the comparison of his work with that of Petrarch, given in the *Decline and Fall* (441). If Dante is not to be included among those Italian classics, which he tells us in his autobiography he reviewed again and again (*Miscellaneous Works* I, 141), he anti-

pated his judgment of the first of Italian poets in his *Outlines of the History of the World* (*ib.*, II, 428) "The writings of Dante, Boccaccio and Petrarch forever fixed the Italian tongue. The first displayed the powers of a wild but original genius." In his last work, *The Antiquities of the House of Brunswick*, he makes a point of referring to the place given by Dante to Obizzo da Esti in the ninth circle of hell among the tyrants, and, on account of Dante's Ghibelline tendencies states that "were he (*i. e.*, Obizzo) not associated with a Ghibelline chief, we might impute his sentence to the prejudices rather than the justice of the Tuscan bard." He further notes that Dante's judgment is confirmed by the agreement of Benvenuto's comment on the lines (*ib.*, III, 700). On the eve of the nineteenth century it is curious to note that in an article on Italian literature appearing as late as May 8, 1793, Dante is not mentioned (N. Drake, *Gleaner*, IV, 228 ff.). Finally, to note but one of several allusions in early nineteenth century literature, which have escaped the attention of the compiler; the evident allusion to the immortal phrase of Francesca in the Latin sentence "Eheu! quam infortunii miserrimum est fuisse felicem," which Coleridge scribbled on the walls of a stable, during his short service as a trooper (*Letters*, I, 63, n. 1) is surely worthy of mention.

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Charles de Sainte-Marthe (1512-1555). By CAROLINE RUUTZ-REES, Ph.D. New York, The Columbia University Press, 1910. Pp. xiv + 664.

Charles, son of Gaucher and uncle of Scévole de Sainte-Marthe, was born in 1512 at the abbey of Fontevrault, to which his father was physician-in-ordinary. He studied law and theology at Poitiers, and in 1533 began teaching in the *Collège de Guyenne*, at Bordeaux, where he remained only a brief time. After a year's wandering in the province of Guyenne, he returned to Fontevrault, and shortly after received his doctorate at Poitiers. Appointed Regius Professor of theology in the University of Poitiers (1537), his leanings toward the Reformation brought about his exile from Poitiers. For a year or two he wandered in Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc. In 1540 he was imprisoned at Grenoble on account of his religious opinions, but was soon released and accepted a chair of languages (Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French) in the *Collège de la Trinité*, at Lyons. Early in 1541 he went to Geneva for a short stay. He returned to Grenoble, and was imprisoned for over two years as "a suspected Lutheran and fomentor of sedition." In 1544 he entered the service of Françoise, Duchess of Beaumont, to whom he owed "the beginning of happier fortunes." He also became an officer in the household of Marguerite of Navarre and *lieutenant criminel* of Alençon. He died at Alençon in 1555.

In addition to these main facts Miss Ruutz-Rees gives many details that help to make the biography interesting and the picture of Sainte-Marthe lifelike, such as, his boyhood at Fontevrault and the influence that the royal abbey must have had on his mind and soul, his wanderings, his friendships, his correspondence, his theological views, and his love affair at Arles.

Sainte-Marthe's works are: *La Poésie françoise* (1540), composed of epigrams, rondeaux, ballades, epistles, elegies, and poems addressed to Sainte-Marthe by his friends; Paraphrases of the seventh and the thirty-third Psalms (1543); Latin Funeral Oration in honor of Marguerite of Navarre (1550);

French translation of this oration (1550); Latin Meditation on the ninetyeth Psalm (1550); Latin Funeral Oration in honor of the Duchess of Beaumont (1550); and a dozen scattered French and Latin poems.

Miss Ruutz-Rees has dealt with these works in a most scholarly and painstaking manner. A mediocre poet of the Marotic school, Sainte-Marthe was yet for several reasons a forerunner of the Pleiad. In his *Poésie française* he imitated Martial, Clément Marot, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, Salel, Rabelais, and Marguerite of Navarre; he was a Platonist and a Petrarchist. His "verse is, in general, characterized by an entire lack of poetic feeling."

In his two Funeral Orations "the ancients were his preoccupation, his passion; Plato, his oracle." "So far as his Funeral Orations are concerned, the truths of Christianity, dearly cherished as they were, form but a background for the crowding forms of all antiquity." However, "it should not be hastily concluded that enthusiasm for antiquity superseded his religion in Sainte-Marthe's mind. . . . Following the example already set by Marguerite of Navarre, he deliberately attempted to harmonize, in his readers' minds, Christian doctrine and classical philosophy, to reinterpret, through the latter, a religion encumbered with the false or useless traditions of men." In the Orations, which are undoubtedly Sainte-Marthe's best works, he renders loving homage to the two princesses who had befriended him, attacks contemporary vices, discusses the position of woman, and education.

It is especially in his Latin works that we get an idea of Sainte-Marthe's theology, "a theology obviously in some measure, at least, derived from Calvin." Still, like many intelligent men of the period, Sainte-Marthe acknowledged the authority of the Pope, and while earnestly desiring a reform within the church, was opposed to schism.

Such in brief was Charles de Sainte-Marthe, a versatile, if unoriginal man, who was "extraordinarily receptive to the intellectual currents of his time," who was influenced by the new Renaissance ideas, yet clung to some of the old; a humanist, but an opponent of Renaissance paganism; a religious reformer in a mild way; a poor poet, a good prose writer; the friend of the foremost men of his day: a "typical average man of the Renaissance," highly interesting, but by no means great.

Miss Ruutz-Rees' work is so excellently and so carefully done that it is impossible for one to add materially to its scholarship. Perhaps the book would gain substantially if it were condensed by one-third. A volume of nearly seven hundred pages is rather too complimentary to the author of *la Poésie française*. Not that the critic over-estimates Sainte-Marthe's worth. On the contrary, her judgment is most sure, her claims in the poet's behalf are modest and circumspect. Yet the reader must feel at times that details are being wrung a little more than their value warrants, and that discreet abridgment would not be amiss.

A few suggestions and queries: P. 86, note 2, p. 631: Who is Etienne Forcault (Stephanus Forcatulus)? The well-known Etienne Forcadet?—Pernette du Guillet is the proper form, not Pernette de Guillette (p. 102 and Index), nor Pernette de Guillet (p. 310, note 1).—P. 193: "Two persons known only by their initials I. M. and A. D., the latter a "Damoyselle Parisienne," both "otherwise unknown." This couple is certainly Jean de Morel and his wife, Antoinette de Loynes. The latter frequently used A. D. as her initials, as well as A. D. L. (p. 198) and Dam. A. D. L. (p. 621). Cf. the spellings in the following: "Tan de

Morel, gentilhomme Ambrunois . . . Damoiselle Antoinette Deloïne sa femme, couple non moins docte que vertueuse." (*Œuvres françoises de Ioachim Du Bellay*, Marty-Laveaux ed., II, 421).—P. 622: The suggestion that "Damoiselle A. D. T." is a misprint for "Damoiselle A. D. L." (Antoinette de Loynes) is borne out by the fact that "T. Morel, Embrunois" which follows immediately is certainly meant for "I. Morel, Embrunois."—P. 220: It is to be regretted that the portrait of Charles de Sainte-Marthe in *Portraits de plusieurs hommes illustres qui ont flory en France depuis l'an 1500 jusques a present* was not reproduced. Portraits of the minor characters of the French Renaissance are extremely rare and are always interesting.—P. 263, 314: Almanque (as in Index) or Almanque Papillon is preferable to Almanaque Papillon, notwithstanding the fact that the form Almanaque is used by several critics of repute.—P. 311, note 4: It is to be doubted that an edition of Charles Fontaine's *la Fontaine d'Amour* appeared in 1544. The earliest known edition was published in 1545 (British Museum). Subsequent editions were published in 1546 and 1588. It is none too fair to single out Fontaine's *Fontaine d'Amour* as the *Fontaine* that "drew Du Bellay's ire." It is more likely that Du Bellay's *tarir ces Fontaines* was aimed not only at the *Fontaine d'Amour*, but at the many volumes that bore the much abused word *Fontaine* on their title pages.—P. 311, note 4: The following sentence is misleading: "Fontaine's next essay of interest was *les Ruisseaux de Fontaine* of 1555, and here he finally appears as the ardent convert and exponent of Platonism." As a matter of fact, only one hundred verses of the 399 pages of *les Ruisseaux* are devoted to Platonism.—Some fifty misprints, mainly in French words, somewhat mar the general excellence of the typography.

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Giovanni Pascoli et l'Antiquité—*Etude de Littérature comparée*. Par EMILE ZIL-LIACUS. *Mémoires de la Société néo-philologique de Helsingfors, V.*

The object of the book is twofold: to complete the research of the classical sources of Pascoli's *Poemi Conviviali*; and secondly, to show how "l'antiquité se reflète à travers le tempérament du poète italien, si et dans quelle mesure la matière antique a été transformée et modernisée par lui."

The treatment of the first part is accurate and scholarly; not equally valuable, in our opinion, is the second part of the study.

In the *Poemi Conviviali* we have a series of classical themes developed from Homer, Hesiod, the tragedians, the plastic arts, Greek philosophy, etc., leading up to a song of Christian inspiration as to a preluded and expected conclusion. What the poet's special interpretation or original utilization of these classic themes is M. Z. does not say. He has failed to notice, it seems to us, some constant preoccupations which have guided Pascoli in the selection of his material and therefore he has often come to the conclusion that the poet is merely paraphrasing his text, whereas in reality he has completely transformed it into a new artistic creation.

Foremost amongst the elements of these transformations should be noticed Pascoli's tendency to identify Christian teachings with Pagan ideals, or rather to incorporate both into a universal, immemorial Gospel of humanity. We have an example of this in the third poem of the volume, the *Cetra d'Achille*.

We are brought here face to face with the Homeric hero awaiting in his

tent the end of the night which he knew would be his last in this world. Why this evocation? What new ideal beauty is disclosed to the poet's sight by Achilles' death-watch? M. Z. tells us: "C'est l'éloge de la sérénité d'âme en face de la mort inévitable." To us it is much more: it is the representation of a *voluntary sacrifice*, of the self-immolation to an idea, the spontaneous acceptance of a death which had been *évitable*—an example, in short, of the *inner Christianity* of Greek literature. Achilles' death, interpreted not solely through Homer, as M. Z. approaches it, but more essentially through Socrates' presentation, acquires for the poet the value of an antecedent to the Death of the Savior. Is this fanciful? It seems not, after carefully reading the poem; but we can verify our assertions by the poet's explicit statement.

In his address before the University of Pisa, we find these words: "In vero non ho bisogno di cercare esempi per dimostrarvi l'intima cristianità delle letterature classiche. . . . Subito a noi apparisce il primitivo eroe del dovere, non solo quando dice alla sua madre Dea: Subito io muoia! Ma quando al cavallo parlante di morte risponde, Lo so da me! E spinge avanti i cavalli col grande grido che emise anche il Cristo, *Profonda Somiglianza!*"

Another example of this poetic syncretism we have in the *Poeta degli Ilioti*. Hesiod is here evangelized by a slave, early apostle of good will to men, and converted by him from the cult of power to the creed of pity and humility. The verses of Hesiod that appear in this poem must be regarded not as casual translations or literary paraphrases but as pious quotations from this "Hellenic Bible." When the slave begs his companion to partake of his scanty bread, he pronounces the famous Hesiodic maxim *πλεον ἤμυν πάντες* (the half is greater than the whole). And the reason why Pascoli borrows this sentence is that he sees in it the essence of a virtue which Christianity was afterwards to sanctify. The fraternal charity, therefore, which through the teachings of Christ was to establish the equality of human beings, reveals itself to Pascoli in the Pagan poetry of Hesiod; and it is to the expression of this revelation that we must direct our attention in order to understand fully the meaning of his poetry.

To justify our interpretation of his verse and to show the existence of this moral preoccupation on his part we shall turn to his prose works. He says (*Pensieri e Discorsi*, pp. 324 et seq.) that the Christian virtue through which "gli uomini si dovevano riconoscere per fratelli," the virtue through which "la vita non doveva apparire bella e buona se non smezata col prossimo" had been practiced by the Greeks, for "la massima *πλεον ἤμυν πάντες*—è più il mezzo che il tutto circola per tutta la letteratura greco-romana e la santifica, o volete piuttosto, la umanizza."

Thus understanding our author, we cannot condemn, with M. Z., his "tendance à allonger à l'infini un motif, à varier et répéter une idée jusqu'à lui faire perdre la fraîcheur," when, in the *Memnonidi*, he enlarges upon Achilles' deploration of the wretchedness of the lower world (*Odyssey*, xi, 488-91). There he is not striving to repeat the freshness of the Homeric *βουλομένη εἰ ἐπάρουσι δὲν θηγεῖν ἄλλω*; nor is he composing variations upon that theme: he tries rather, it seems, to use it as a starting point for a new idea—to mark the dusk of a warlike age and the dawn of a new era. And the beautiful verses "Fossi lassù garzone etc.," translated by M. Z. not in accordance with the meaning which we think is correct, far from being an inept addition to the Homeric text, express a new poetic intuition which is its own justification.

The research of the classical sources is comprehensively and accurately conducted by M. Z. He has incorporated in his work both those sources which Pascoli himself had indicated, and those which Luigi Siciliani has added in the *Atene e Roma* (June-July, 1906). The noticeable omissions in the work of M. Z. are usually of passages so well-known that they cannot be ascribed to any lack of knowledge on the part of the scholarly investigator. We shall mention a few typical ones:

First, speaking of the departed souls, Pascoli says in the *Memnonidi*:

E per le vie muffite
V'udrò stridire come vipistrelli.
La bianca rupe tu vedrai, dov' ogni
Luce tramonta, tu vedrai le Porte
Del Sole e il muto popolo dei Sogni.
E giunto alfine sosterai nel Prato
Sparso dei gialli fiori della morte,
Immortalmente, Achille, affaticato.

This is clearly inspired by the *Odyssey* (xxiv, 5 et seq.). The "vie muffite" translates *εφώεστα κέλνυθα*; "stridire come vipistrelli" is the *τρίπασσαι ὡς ὄδρα νυκτερίδες*; "la bianca Rupe" is *Λευκὰ πέτρην*; "le porte del Sole e il muto popolo dei Sogni" is from *Ἡελίοιο πόδας καὶ ὄψων ἀνείρων*; and the "prato sparso dei gialli fiori" is the *ἀσφοδελὸν λευκῶνα*.

Next, some characteristic epithets and descriptive touches of classical origin are not noticed by M. Z. For example, in *Ate* the "città sonante di colombe" derives from the Homeric (*Iliad*, ii, 582) *πολυτρήωνα Μέσσην*. In the same poem the description of *Ate la zoppa* and *mostrò le rughe della fronte* seems traceable, not perhaps to the Horatian *pede Poena claudo* as M. Z. suggests, but to the beautiful allegory (*Iliad*, ix) of *Ate* and of the *Litai*, which it strikingly resembles in imagery (the *litai* are there described as *zoppe χῶλαι* and *rugose ῥυταί*); though the conception of the crime-avenging conscience as lame (*mens sibi conscia factis*) recalls the *ὀστερόπουι Νέμεσις*, or the *ὀστερόπουον Ἄταν* (Aesch., *Ag.* 382), or even the Euripidean *δίκαι χροδόνος*—all of which however bear a closer relation to the Horatian conception than to the personification of Pascoli's poem.

In the *Vecchio di Chio*, we have a clear reminiscence of Aristophanes in "un vasto tintinnio di cicale ebbre di sole . . . nel meriggio estivo."

ἦν δ' ἂν ὁ θεοπέσιος δὲδ' ἔμλος ἀχέρας
θάλασσι μεσημβρινοῖσι ἥλιομανῆι βοῇ. (Ar., *Av.* 1095-6)

For *Antico*, a new source may be pointed out, which is noticeable in the spirit of the poem rather than in concrete verbal identity. It is the second book of the *Aeneid*. Besides the resemblance of the events, there are indications of a closer kinship. First, Pascoli's insistence on marking the role of the quiet moon as a contrast to the horror of the fatal night: "la luna piena già sorgea dai monti . . . la luna piena pendeva in mezzo della notte . . . sull' incendio brillava il plenilunio . . . tacita e serena come la luna." If we were not acquainted from other sources with Pascoli's thought on the subject, we might hesitate in drawing inferences. But the poet himself has told us how powerful has been the magic influence of that Vergilian *tacitae per amica silentia lunae*;

he has traced it to Leopardi, and he has expressed his belief that consciously or unconsciously it was present in Manzoni's mind when he too was writing his description of his famous night. Pascoli says (*Pensieri e Discorsi*, p. 166): "Il Manzoni secondo me deve aver derivato da quella frase, consciamente o inconsciamente molta ispirazione," and later "il chiaro di luna nella notte manzoniana serve a segnare il contrasto tra le inquiete operazioni degli uomini e la placida indifferenza della natura." However it may be for Manzoni, it is certain that to Pascoli's mind the Vergilian image is present; and we cannot fail to recognize it when we meet it in his verse. And again this influence may be shown by noticing one other feature which appears in *Anticipo*, and which we are certain Pascoli saw in the Second Aeneid. For he says (*op. cit.*, p. 168): "In tutte e due le mirabili creazioni, al brusio festivo, straordinario in Virgilio consueto nel Manzoni, della sera succede il silenzio notturno interrotto poi da grida, suoni, etc." In *Anticipo* we read:

Quando già li fuori
Impallidiva il vasto urlo del giorno
. . . poi languì che forse
Era già sera, etc.

The resemblance is evident; and if any value is to be attached to these crenological investigations, we surely cannot ignore examples like these where the source of inspiration not only is revealed by the poem, but is indicated by the poet himself.

We might add other examples of unnoticed reminiscences of classical authors, appearing sometimes in a single word (*esili vite: domus exilis Plutonia*), sometimes in a longer phrase (*nella sacra notte parole degne di silenzio: sacro digna silentio mirantur umbrae dicere*), but this would lead us to consider an aspect of the subject which M. Z. has perhaps purposely left unconsidered.

A few inaccuracies may be noticed: first, the very misleading delineation of Carducci's classicism in contrast to Pascoli's Hellenism; then a few passages where the critic, in his rendering, has obviously not given a correct version (cf. *Poemi Conviviali*, pp. 111 and 76). Furthermore, in a note on the word *gallinelle* (*ibid.*, p. 57; Zilliaceus, p. 98), applied to the Pleiades, M. Z. indicates that this word is meant to correspond to the Greek word *πτερυγίδες* (doves) as a pun on Pleiades. On the contrary, *gallinelle* is a very old popular term for the constellation, never means "doves," and is used with no references to the Greek word-play. As a venatorial term, it is applied to a certain kind of water-fowl, but in the present signification it means nothing more than "little hens," according to the same popular fancy which sees in these stars the *gluckhenne*, the *poussinière*, or the *chiocchetta*.

The poem on the death of Socrates—*La Civetta*—is sharply criticized by our author. The poet, as a pendant to Plato's lofty description of this event, symbolically describes the situation from the point of view of some heedless Athenian boys, who, with childish curiosity, gather around the prison and comment, in their manner, on the Passion of the Sage and the mourning of the disciples. The purpose of the poet is clear. M. Z. himself tells us: "Le contraste entre l'inconscience touchante des enfants et la grande tragédie qui se déroule

dans la prison est plein de force." But he adds: "Mais y a-t-il un ornement, si charmant et ingénieux qu'on l'imagine, qui puisse dépasser la sublime simplicité du récit platonicien? Et n'est-ce point un crime que de rabaisser la scène de la mort de Socrate telle que la décrit Platon à ce niveau d'anecdote et de tableau de genre?" The intention of Pascoli is not to "dépasser" Plato, but to make a new creation, to be judged on its own merits, and not in relation to any masterpiece which aesthetically can neither be greater nor smaller. The inconsiderate children who crowd with thoughtless inquisitiveness around the prison door, bring to our mind the sublimity of the event in very much the same way that a blind man, turning his inquiring, vacant eyes to the sun, directs our thoughts to the beauty of this world of light and to the sadness of its passing.

There is perhaps in the poem a little of Pascoli's mannerism, but before condemning an expression as irrelevant and undignified, let us be reminded of the pathetic irrelevance in Andromache's tender wailing over Hector's body:

γυμνόν. ἀνὰ τοι εἶματ' ἐν μεγάροις κείνται
λεπτά τε καὶ χαλκεία, τετυγμένα χερσὶ γυναικῶν.

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The Oak Book of Southampton, of c. A. D. 1300. Transcribed and Edited from the unique MS. in the Audit House, with Translation, Introduction, Notes, Etc. By P. STUDER, Professor of French and German at Hartley University College, Southampton. Vol. I. Southampton, Cox & Sharland, 1910. Pp. xliii + 160.

This volume takes favorable position among the publications of the Southampton Record Society. It will be followed by a second and final volume. Because of the rarity in America of the publications of the Record Society, it is well to draw the attention of Romance scholars and students of law and customs to this valuable book. The MS. which Mr. Studer publishes has been preserved at Southampton for six centuries. It derives its name from being bound in oak. The editor identifies this MS. with one frequently mentioned earlier under the name of the "Paxbread." The first portion of the MS. appears to date from about 1300. The oldest entries are in Norman-French; others are in a medieval Latin which is but thinly disguised French; only a few later notes are in English. The text offers a clear impression of the government of the town, of the powers and privileges of the Guild Merchant. The language, of course, is of interest to the filologist, and adds not a little to the volume of published Norman-French. An idea of the value of the text may be obtained from an article which Mr. Studer has recently published in the *Modern Language Review*, vol. VI, pp. 174-82: *Etude sur quelques Vocables Anglo-Normands*.

R. W.

Bibliographie lyonnaise: Recherches sur les Imprimeurs, Libraires, Relieurs et Fondateurs de Lettres de Lyon au XVIe. Siècle, par le Président Baudrier, publiées et continuées par J. Baudrier. Huitième Série. Paris, A. Picard et Fils; Lyons, Louis Brun, 1910. Pp. 447. 2 plates.

The last volume of this remarkable series reveals, on the part of the authors, the same critical acumen and patient research that characterised its predecessors.

We can only compare it to Picot's *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Rothschild*, which set the standard for careful and thorough bibliography, and Pellechet's *Catalogue des Incunables*, especially as it has been continued by M. Polin. Thanks to these scholars, we have at last a bibliographical method that will stand the test of time.

The *Bibliographie lyonnaise* represents long years of careful research on the part of M. Henri Baudrier, president of the Cour d'Appel of Lyons, and of his son, M. Julien Baudrier. President Baudrier, who died in 1884, spent all of his leisure time collecting material for a history of printing in Lyons in a period when that city was the great book-center of Europe. It has already been pointed out that the liberal government of the able lieutenant-general of the Lyonnais, Jean du Peyrat—which lasted from 1532 to 1550—made Lyons the cynosure of all eyes. Learned printers, who felt that there at least they would not be exposed to the bitter hostility of their enemies, established themselves under the shelter of the *mont cotoyant le fleuve et la cité*. M. Baudrier says justly that “plus que toutes les autres branches de commerce et de l'industrie réunies, l'imprimerie et la librairie ont contribué à porter notre cité au nombre des villes commerçantes les plus universellement connues.”

M. Baudrier has a very profound knowledge of the different printers and publishers of the great commercial city during this interesting epoch. He treats them all consecutively. Unfortunately, he has been obliged to omit Jean de Tournes, who, rather than Gryphe, deserves to be called “l'honneur de l'imprimerie lyonnaise,” because M. Alfred Cartier of Geneva is preparing a work devoted to this family of printers. However, it would have been much more convenient if this great publisher had been included in this series, for one often meets many lacunae, due to the omission of so important a name.

The present volume deals especially with Sébastien Gryphe, who—if he does not rank on a level with de Tournes—comes immediately after him in prominence and productiveness. Sébastien Gryphe was probably the son of Michael Gryff, or Greyff, of Reutlingen, Swabia, whose incunabula are now much sought after. Burger's index to Copinger's *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum* (1902) gives the titles of some fifty works issued from the press of Michael Greyff which are now in the British Museum.¹ Sébastien was probably in Lyons as early as 1515 or 1516, and soon became the foreman-manager of the press of Jean de Jouvelle, alias Piston. This fact, though certainly proven by the brilliant Mr. Christie, seems to have escaped the attention of M. Baudrier.² Mr. Christie further suggests that about two or three years before 1528, Gryphe determined to establish a press on a different scale and principle from those on which the Lyonese printers had been carrying on their business. Thereby he was to revolutionize the book-trade of Lyons, and, to quote Mr. Christie, “become the most prolific printer of useful Latin books not only in France, but in Europe at large.” By 1528, he had provided himself with founts of Roman letters, especially the cursive type rendered so famous by the Aldi. For twenty-

¹ Cf. also Proctor, *Index to Early Printed Books in the British Museum*, London, 1898, pp. 175-6; 178-9. Proctor assigns to Michael Greyff the honor of being the first printer in Reutlingen (ca. 1478).

² Cf. Christie's article on *Sébastien Gryphius, Printer*, in the *Owens College Historical Essays*, London, 1902, pp. 307-23.

eight years his presses were busy, and many highly meritorious works were issued therefrom. After years of search, Mr. Christie collected no less than 600 volumes bearing his name; and this probably represents less than half of the product of his house. This unique collection, which now forms the most important part of the Christie Library at Owens College, has unfortunately not received sufficient attention from M. Baudrier, as one can readily see by a careful perusal of his work. The only larger collection is that in the Library of Lyons, which in 1886 acquired from an Italian count some 600 volumes of Gryphe's publications. While it would be almost preposterous to demand of M. Baudrier a complete list of Gryphe's productions scattered through the Italian libraries, yet it would be interesting to know to a certain degree what they contain, for, according to M. Picot—who is thoroughly acquainted with many of these libraries—the works of this printer “sont encore aujourd'hui beaucoup plus répandues en Italie qu'en France.”

As for the biography of Sébastien Gryphe, little more can ever be added to what is given by M. Baudrier. However, a few details may be worthy of mention. For example, it may be noted that the *Catalogue des Actes de François Ier.* (VI, no. 20,486 and no. 20,801) contains a résumé of the letters of naturalisation of Gryphe, one of which is given in toto by M. Baudrier. Inasmuch as M. B. will not treat Jean de Tournes in this series, he might have stated that this great printer learned the trade in the shops of Gryphe. As early as 1531, de Tournes was in the employ of Gryphe as a journeyman. In the prefatory letter to his edition of Petrarch, de Tournes wrote in 1545 to the poet Maurice Scève the following: “Già dodeci anni sono e piu, signor mio, che da prima cominciai a praticar nella casa dil S. Gryphio, e dal principio fui un di quelli compositori, che s'ajutorno a comporre insu la stampa le divine opere di messer Luigi Alamanni, gentiluomo tanto honorato in Francia quante celebrato in Italia; la qual cosa mi mosse non solamente ad apprezzar, ma ancora ad amar e a compiacermi molto in questa lingua toscana, di modo qu'alhora dissegnai di continuar in questo volgare, como le mie facultà vi si offeriranno.”

Mr. Christie, in his monumental work on Dolet, has dwelt at length upon the friendship existing between the two printers. An additional evidence of their intimacy is found in an unpublished letter of Antoine Arlier, who was one of Dolet's few life-long friends. Arlier obtained early in 1537 from the queen of Navarre the royal pardon for the choleric printer after his murder of the painter Compaign. In this letter, which events lead me to date the 31st of August, 1538, Arlier recommends to Dolet a friend who seeks a printer for some treatises he has composed. After informing Dolet that this friend has made the trip to Lyons solely for this purpose, Arlier adds: “Quare si illi contigerit, ut recte adversus Gryphium opera tua uti possit, gratissimum mihi feceris, si te libenter omnia facturum recipies.”

Anent the *recepte d'une cotisation faite par manière d'emprunt sur les bourgeois, manans et habitans* of Lyons (Baudrier, p. 34), we find in the archives of Lyons the letters patent of Francis I, dated from Rouen on the 29th of April, 1544, “adonnant ladite imposition” (*Arch. com. de Lyon*, CC 955). Again, in

¹ *Les Français italianisants au XVIe. siècle*, I, p. 167.

² *Il Petrarca. In Lione, Per Gionan di Tournes*, 1545, in-16, p. 3.

³ Letter lvi. I am preparing this collection of letters for publication.

the *Archives hospitalières* of Lyons (E 169; 1559-60), we note, among the legacies made to the *Aumône générale* (cf. Baudrier, p. 288), the following: "Receu de dame François Miraillet, veufve et héritière de feu sieur Sébastien Griphius, par mains de Jehan Temporal, libraire, 100 livres tournois, restant d'ung légat de 200 livres, faict par ledict feu à ladicte Aulmosne." Another document, apparently not noted by M. B.—but of which I have not the date—states that "Bastien Griphius imprimeur, est taxé à 2 livres, 4 sous, et 7 deniers" (*Arch. com.*, CC 281).

As for Antoine Gryphe, who became head of the firm after his father's death, the following notes are not found in the present work: First, he is among the *cotisés* of the 31st of October, 1571 (*ibid.*, CC 1197; 1571-2); he is taxed for 5 livres in 1572 (*ibid.*, CC 275; 1572); in 1574-5, a payment is made to "Anthoine Griphius, marchand libraire, pour l'impression des privilèges des foires de Lyon" (*ibid.*, CC 1230); and finally in 1575, we find that "remboursements divers" were made to him (*ibid.*, CC 1233).

Credit should be given to that careful scholar, Mlle. M. Pellechet, for the discovery that François Gryphe, the Parisian printer, was a brother of Sébastien.⁶ In addition to Giovanni and Alessandro Griffio, the Venetian printers, who, as M. Picot indicates (*loc. cit.*, and Baudrier, p. 28), were probably cousins of Sébastien, there was another cousin, Cristoforo Griffio, who was a publisher at Padua from 1563 to 1571.

Mr. Christie, in his article on Florence Volusene or Wilson,⁷ mentions a work in his collection which is not noted by M. B. It is the *Latinae Grammatices Epitome*, written probably by Wilson (inasmuch as it is preceded by six elegiacs of his composition) and published by Gryphe in 1544. And to conclude, it is interesting to note that the Bodleian Library contains an incomplete copy of the *Panormitanus*, the first work issued from the press of Gryphe (1524).⁸

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⁶ *Notes sur les livres liturgiques des diocèses d'Autun, Chalon et Mâcon*, 1883, p. 83, n. 3.

⁷ *Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁸ *Cat. Lib. Impress. in Bibl. Bod.*, iii, p. 673, Oxford, 1843.

NOTES AND NEWS

The Johns Hopkins Press announces *Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliott*, 2 vols., price, \$7. The work contains an admirable portrait of Mr. Elliott, also articles by more than a score of his former pupils, and contributions by three European scholars—Bédier, Menéndez Pidal and Terracher.

The Stanford University Philological Association expects to publish in the fall a memorial volume in honor of John E. Matzke.

An exchange of professors in alternat years has been arranged between Harvard and the French universities. The exchange will not be an amplification of the Hyde lectures. It will be remembered that Mr. James H. Hyde established a French lectureship at Harvard in 1898, and an American lectureship at the Sorbonne in 1904. President John H. Finley of the New York City College delivered this year the Hyde lectures at the Sorbonne. In the matter of the exchange of professorships, the Minister of Public Instruction of France will select the French professor from a French university, and will also designate the university to which the Harvard professor will be sent. During their stay of one semester, the French professors will become active members of the Harvard Faculty, and will conduct regular courses. They will probably be able, at various dates, to visit other American universities. Arrangements had already been concluded by Columbia, whereby a visiting French professor will conduct regular classes during one semester; Gustave Lanson will be the first of these. He will conduct two courses concerning the eighteenth century literature in France, during the first semester of 1911-12.

Assistant Professor F. B. Luquiens of Yale has recently published with H. Holt a delightful poetic translation of three lays of Marie de France.

Professor C. H. Grandgent's edition of Dante's *Purgatorio* is announced by D. C. Heath.

Assistant Professor W. T. Pierce of Ohio State University has accepted a position at Yale University.

We should like to call attention to the new series entitled *Scrittori d'Italia*, published by Laterza, Bari. Fourteen volumes have already appeared, and judging from these editions, we feel warranted in pronouncing this undertaking the most important attempt to diffuse the best elements in Italian literature, in correct and scholarly form, that has hitherto been made. The texts are all critical, and in charge of distinguished specialists throughout. Each document is accompanied by a brief bibliographical note, explaining the constitution of the text and giving adequate material for starting further critical study. The books are beautifully and clearly printed, yet are accessible at prices that should entice not only every university library, but individual students of Italian with the most moderate means. The series, which will include over six hundred volumes should be complete at the present rate of publication in a little over a decade.

Professor E. W. Olmsted, of Cornell University, has in press a study on the sonnet in France in the sixteenth century. Mr. George I. Dale, for the past year Fellow in the same university, has been appointed Instructor in French. He will be succeeded as Fellow by Mr. George S. Barnum, A.B. Cornell, 1911.

D. A. Longuet, 250, Faubourg Saint-Martin, Paris, has been highly commended to us for fotografic reproductions of manuscripts and rare prints. His work is said to be of first quality, and his prices are moderat.

A Spanish translation of Dr. J. P. W. Crawford's *Life and Works of Suarez de Figueroa* will shortly appear at Madrid.

Miss Alice M. Robbins, a graduat of Boston University, who has been a student for the past two years at the University of Paris, has been appointed Instructor in French at Wellesley College.

Professor J. L. Borgerhoff, of Western Reserve University, will pass next year in Europe.

Mr. Charles E. Young, of the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed Assistant Professor and head of the department of Romance languages at Beloit College.

Professor John M. Burnam, of the University of Cincinnati, is publishing with H. Champion, 5, Quai Malaquais, Paris, a large and most valuable treatis on Spanish, Portuguese and Catalanian paleografy entitled: *Palæographia Iberica*. This monumental work will consist of fifteen fascicules, each containing about twenty plates. The price per fascicule will be 25 francs. The edition will be limited to 300 numberd copies.

Professor J. D. M. Ford will relieve Professor C. H. Grandgent as chairman of the department of French and other Romance languages at Harvard. Professor Ford has recently been elected a Corresponding Member of the Academia Española.

Mr. John Hill, Assistant in Romance languages at the University of Wisconsin, is preparing an Old Spanish lexicografy.

Mr. Louis Allard, of Harvard University, has been promoted to an assistant professorship in Romance languages.

Mr. Mark Skidmore, Fellow in Romance languages at Columbia University, has been appointed Instructor in French at Dartmouth College.

Dr. George L. Hamilton, of the University of Michigan, will succeed Dr. Arthur Livingston as Assistant Professor of Romance languages at Cornell. Assistant Professor Livingston resigned to accept a call to Columbia.

Professor Paul Shorey, of Chicago University, has publisht an article on *American Scholarship*, which all who are interested in our education shoud read. This brilliant article makes an attack on our attempted importation of German ideas, and is a brief for a higher education which shall be truly national. Romance scholars will see with pleasure what he states in favor of French universities and French civilization. The article appeard in the *New York Evening Post*, May 13, and in the *Nation*, May 11.

Mr. Carlos Blume, of the Yale Graduate School, has been appointed Instructor in French at Dartmouth.

